AUGUST 24, 2015

TIME

WHAT IT'S LIKE TO BE A COP IN AMERICA

ONE YEAR AFTER FERGUSON

BY KARL VICK

Philadelphia officers Mischel Matos, right, and Sean Devlin on patrol July 28

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TIME
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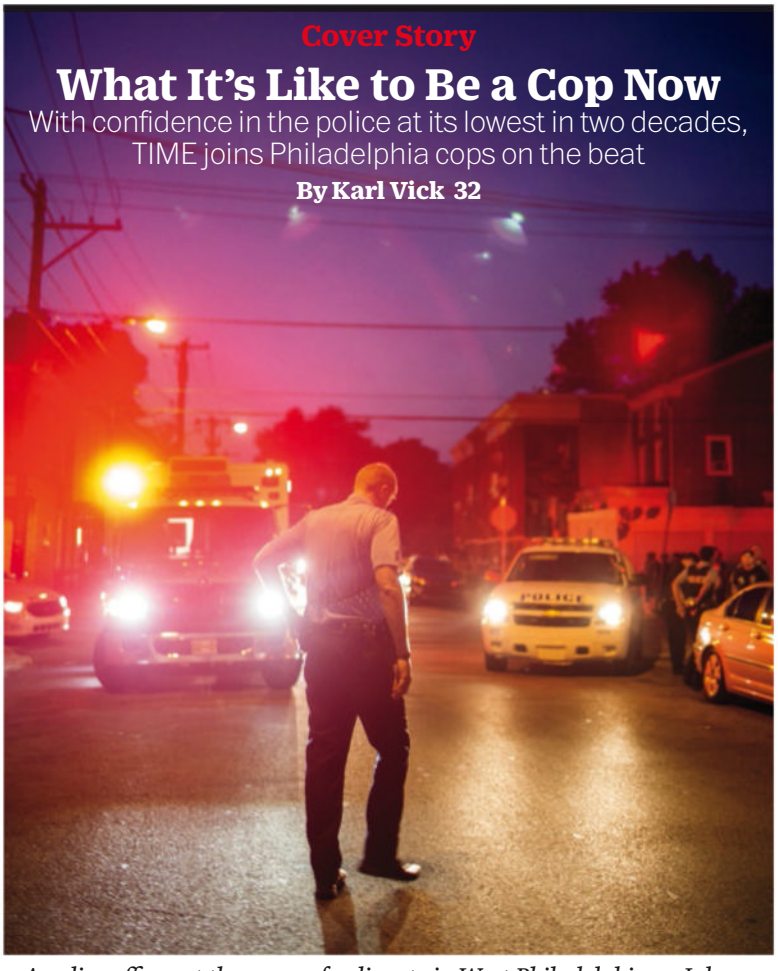
Cover Story

What It's Like to Be a Cop Now

With confidence in the police at its lowest in two decades, TIME joins Philadelphia cops on the beat

By Karl Vick 32



A police officer at the scene of a dispute in West Philadelphia on July 29

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COP: NATALIE KEYSSAR FOR TIME; BRIEF: ILLUSTRATION BY STEVE BRODNER FOR TIME; VIEW: ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME; TIME OFF: JOAN MARCUS

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The view from behind the badge

IT'S EASY TO DESPAIR, SEEING THE ONE-YEAR anniversary of Michael Brown's death marked by another police shooting of a black man in Ferguson, Mo. The images of protest and confrontation were familiar enough that it might seem little has changed. But that's hardly the story of the past 12 months. A point was reached early in the Black Lives Matter movement where anguish was channeled into a desire for change, the profound sort that the 2016 presidential candidates will have to address. "It goes beyond race," says Charles Ramsey, co-chair of President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing. "It's jobs. It's education."

Ramsey runs the police department in Philadelphia, where editor at large Karl Vick spent half of July reporting our cover story on how the past year has felt to cops, under the unforgiving gaze of both an often hostile public and the camera phones they now carry to wherever police show up. "The cops I rode with seemed to take it in stride, but I was struck by the level of hazard that they encounter on any given shift," Karl says. "I wore the same Kevlar vest that gives cops' midriffs that squared-off look, but by my last day I thought twice before following an officer to a car pulled over for a traffic stop."

Black Lives Matter implies more than freedom from fear of death at the hands of police; the slogan takes in all the inequities and burdens of our lopsided history. But if police behavior is a focal point of that conversation, it's worth joining them on patrol, as photographer Natalie Keyssar did to illustrate Karl's story, and hearing how things look from behind the badge.

"We can change everything that's about police," says Ramsey. "But it's not necessarily going to change the dynamic that's happening in the street. There are social ills that are the drivers of violence that need to be addressed."

Nancy Gibbs

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR

What you said about ...

VIRTUAL REALITY Joel Stein's cover story on how our lives will be changed by innovations in virtual reality (VR) was the talk of the tech world, with many condemning the cover image as a misrepresentation of the technology. *PC Gamer* magazine commented that the image of VR as "a mask that nerds use to blot out the world" was a threat to broader acceptance of the idea; Matthew Morandi of Portland, Ore., wrote on Twitter that TIME "may have just killed VR's mainstream momentum." But Hayley Tsukayama of the Washington *Post* saw the dustup differently, writing that the piece and the subsequent backlash perfectly captured the struggle that virtual reality—with its tech that "looks goofy"—will have breaking into the mainstream market, "no matter how cool us Kool-Aid drinkers tell the rest of the world it is."

> 'If that's the future of virtual reality, I want no part of it. Enough said.'
>
> **ROB KUBITZ,** San Francisco

KOCH BROTHERS Readers couldn't agree on whether Philip Elliott's piece about billionaire brothers Charles and David Koch—who spoke to TIME in Dana Point, Calif., at a summit they host for conservative donors—was flattering or critical. Evan L. Ridgway of Leawood, Kans., said he was "shocked and deeply troubled" that the story didn't address some of the brothers' more controversial views, such as their positions on climate change and economic policy. Striking a different tone, Vera Jennings of Tucson, Ariz., took issue with what she saw as an implication that they wield their influence more furtively than prominent progressive donors do. "The Koch brothers promote hard working [and] starting businesses," she wrote. "They also love our country."

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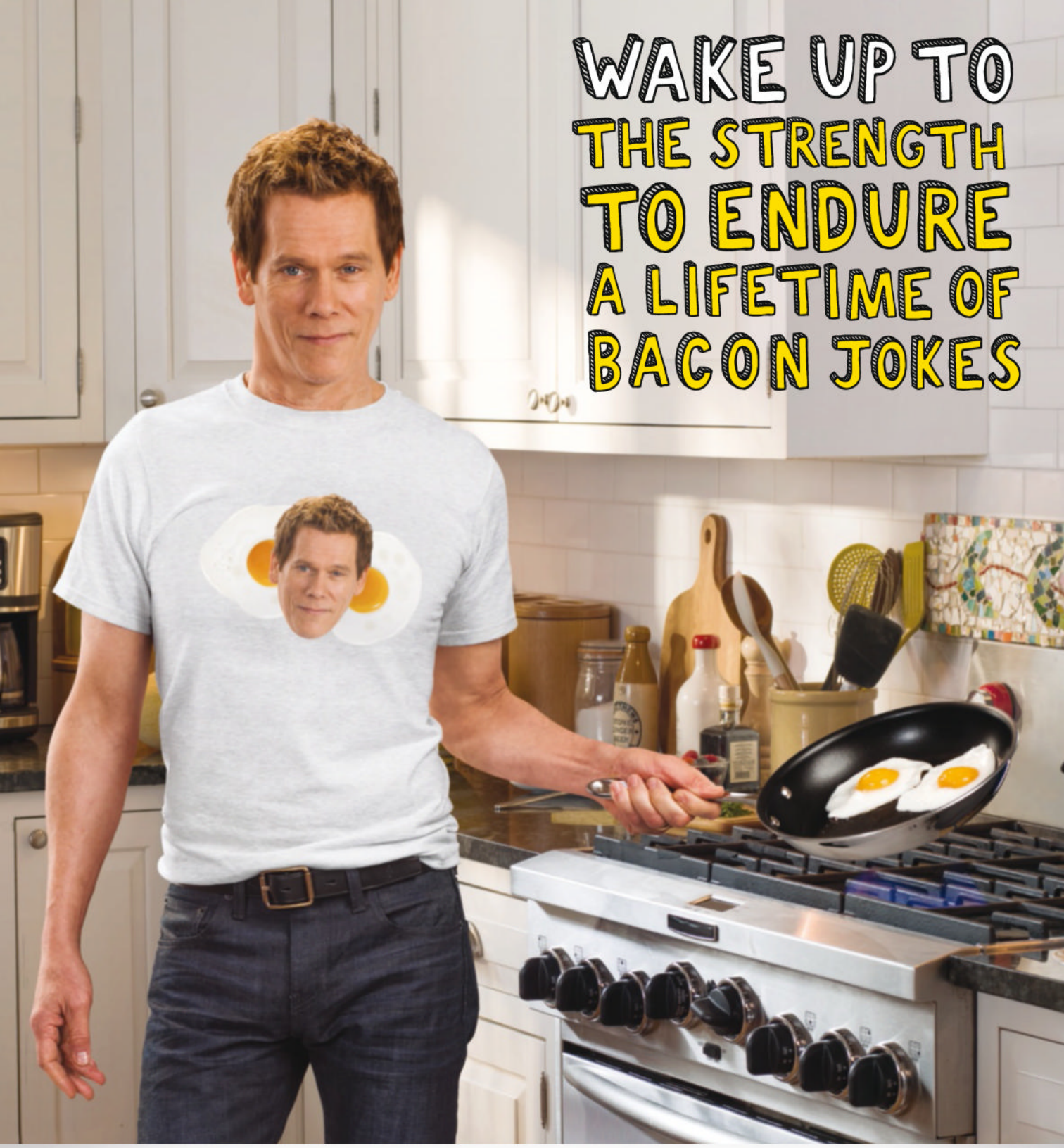

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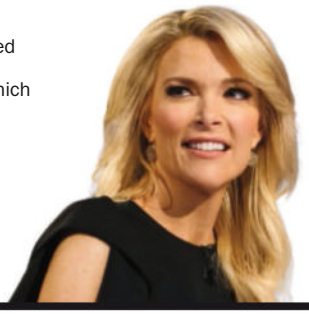
‘I will certainly not apologize for doing good journalism.’

MEGYN KELLY, Fox News anchor, in her first comments following tough but widely praised questioning of Donald Trump during the opening Republican presidential debate, which led to days of criticism from Trump



Fantastic Beasts
Colin Farrell joined Eddie Redmayne in the cast of the *Harry Potter* spin-off

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

Fantastic Four
The superhero flick earned just $26 million in the U.S. in its debut weekend

‘CECIL THE LION WAS YOURS, AND YOU FAILED TO PROTECT HIM.’

ROBERT MUGABE, President of Zimbabwe, using the poaching death of the beloved lion at the hands of an American dentist to criticize his country’s citizens for not working to preserve natural resources from Western “vandals”

85

Age of a woman who scaled Mount Kilimanjaro, making her the **oldest person to ever summit the 19,341-ft. mountain** in Tanzania

2%

Percentage that **China devalued its currency,** the yuan, on Aug. 11; the move sent world markets into turmoil and raised widespread concerns of a “currency war”

‘What’s changed in Ferguson, you ask? Not much.’

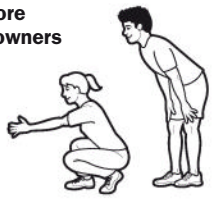
ANTONIO FRENCH, St. Louis city alderman, after the one-year anniversary of the deadly shooting of an unarmed black teenager by a white police officer in Ferguson, Mo., led to new clashes that left at least one person in critical condition

‘Don’t worry, we’re still getting used to the name too!’

LARRY PAGE, Google co-founder, announcing the company’s unexpected restructuring into a holding company called Alphabet, which will own Google and other businesses and could become a model for a new era of technology conglomerates

9

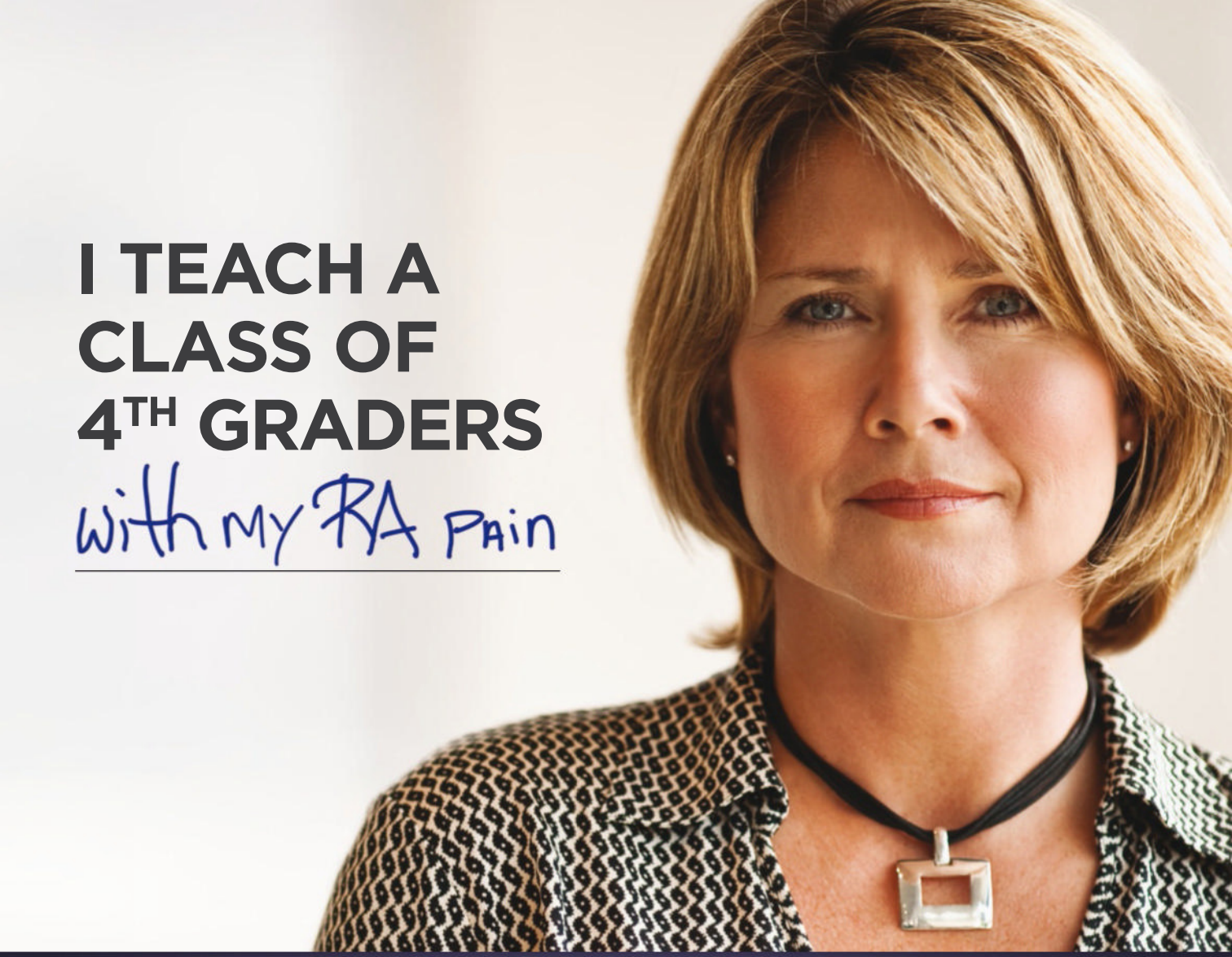
Number of years a dog named Boozer was missing before being reunited with his owners in Colorado



‘It’s mortifying.’

BENEDICT CUMBERBATCH, actor, pleading with fans to put cell phones and cameras away during his performances of *Hamlet* in London because “there’s nothing less supportive or enjoyable as an actor” than seeing the red lights of recording devices in the audience

KELLY: AP; FANTASTIC FOUR: 20TH CENTURY FOX; GETTY IMAGES (4); ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME



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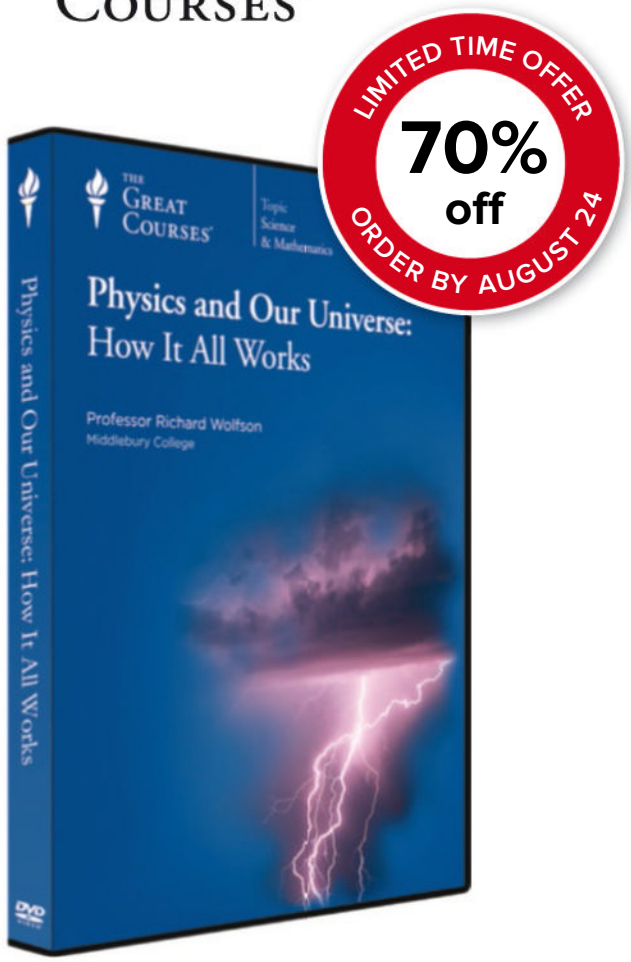

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31. Electric Energy
32. Electric Current
33. Electric Circuits
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The Brief

'THE NOTION THAT WE CAN EXERCISE AWAY A BAD DIET IS ABSOLUTELY UNFOUNDED.' —PAGE 18

POLITICS

The knives come out for Donald Trump, but he's not going anywhere

By Zeke J. Miller/Atlanta

FOR MONTHS, KENTUCKY SENATOR Rand Paul has focused his campaign on weighty matters like auditing the Federal Reserve and attacking secret government surveillance. So it was another sign of how off-kilter the Republican sweepstakes has become when Paul announced that he was retooling his campaign to combat just one problem—really just one man—Donald Trump. "Unless someone points out that the emperor has no clothes," Paul explained Aug. 10, "[he'll] continue to strut about, and what we'll end up with is a reality-TV star as the nominee."

Some people may think that is already the case. Despite an uneven performance in the Fox News debate, Trump's lead in polls appears to be holding. GOP prayers for his departure from the race remain unanswered, and the prospect of his sticking around for at least another few months seems high.

Trump is the dinner guest who will not leave. Brutal questions from Fox News and attacks from rivals only stoke the loyalty of his angry, disaffected supporters. He was snubbed by the Koch brothers this month and denied an invitation to their seaside conference with donors and other hopefuls. The conservative Club for Growth backed five candidates but spurned the developer

ILLUSTRATION BY STEVE BRODNER FOR TIME

turned TV personality. Rival campaigns and GOP groups have been shopping opposition research to reporters for weeks, pointing out the many ways that Trump is on the wrong side of Republican orthodoxy. (Among them: he's been in favor of federal funding of Planned Parenthood, against free trade and for additional taxes on the wealthy.)

Even his mistakes don't slow him down. On the eve of his RedState candidates forum in Atlanta, influential Tea Party blogger-activist Erick Erickson found out that Trump had accused Fox's Megyn Kelly of having "blood coming out of her eyes, blood coming out of her wherever" during the debate. Townhall's Katie Pavlich and HotAir's Mary Katharine Ham, both Fox News contributors, told their colleagues they didn't want to be on a stage that welcomed Trump. Erickson disinvited Trump from the event. "I don't want my daughter, I don't want any of the women in the crowd to be there with a guy who if they ask him a tough question, his response is they must be on their period," he told TIME. Trump claimed he was talking about Kelly's nose, adding, "Only a deviant would think anything else."

GOP veterans insist the question isn't whether Trump leaves the GOP race; it's when and how. Trump has said he's keeping alive the option of running as a third-party candidate to maintain "leverage" over the Republican National Committee. But Trump associates say the third-party path is a head fake. Mounting an independent campaign would require Trump to collect hundreds of thousands of signatures to get on ballots in 50 states, which would mean an investment of at least double the more than $10 million Trump has earmarked for his candidacy. And despite bragging about his substantial net worth, Trump is famously frugal; he doesn't employ pollsters or pay for TV ads. Trump confidants don't believe that he's willing to spend for a third-party run or, for that matter, that his organization is capable of pulling one off.

In the meantime, there's no incentive for Trump to go away. As long as he stays in the news, owns the debates and floats at the top of the polls, he's ahead. He books television interviews and sends tweets to his 3.7 million followers for free, which means he doesn't need ads, and he was allowed to phone in to four Sunday shows on Aug. 9. "There's a point at which it won't work anymore, or just work less," one confidant predicted.

But not yet. Trump's campaign announced it will produce policy white papers and beef up his thin staff in the early states. It's a safe bet that those efforts are mostly for show—but it's a show he's getting good at putting on. At the Lincoln Day dinner in Michigan on Aug. 11, Trump hit Jeb Bush repeatedly and said, "It's going to be an election based on competence." Then he walked offstage to Twisted Sister's "We're Not Gonna Take It."

TRENDING

SPACE
On Aug. 10, astronauts on the International Space Station became the first Americans to **eat food harvested in space,** dining on red lettuce grown under LED lights over the past 15 months. Half of it was frozen to be sent back to earth for analysis.

ADVOCACY
Human-rights group Amnesty International approved a contentious policy on Aug. 11 to **recommend the global decriminalization of prostitution,** arguing that removing the legal consequences will help empower sex workers, reduce trafficking and abuse and limit the spread of STDs.

ALCOHOL
Remote indigenous communities in Australia are **buying the yeast-based spread Vegemite in bulk to make moonshine** in areas where alcohol sales are banned, according to Indigenous Affairs Minister Nigel Scullion. But scientists said it was highly unlikely alcohol could be made out of the salty spread.

ROUNDUP

Changing times

North Korea will turn back the clock by half an hour on Aug. 15 to create a Pyongyang time zone. State media said the move would defy the "wicked Japanese imperialists" who imposed the current system. It's just one of several recent experiments with regional time zones. *—Julia Zorthian*

INDIA
The state of Assam wants to create its own time zone **one hour ahead** of Indian Standard Time to match its unofficial "Tea Garden Time," which allows tea harvesters to end work by sundown.

VENEZUELA
In 2007, President Hugo Chávez moved the clocks **back 30 minutes,** creating a fairer "distribution of the sunrise" to improve health. Now Venezuela is the only country 4½ hours behind GMT.

CRIMEA
On March 30 last year, Crimea moved its clocks **forward two hours** to synchronize with Moscow, forgoing daylight saving time and reflecting the region's annexation by Russia.

SAMOA
The Pacific island **completely skipped the day** of Dec. 30, 2011, jumping across the international date line to be closer to New Zealand and Australia, its biggest trading partners.

DIGITS

50

Years since independence, celebrated by Singapore on Aug. 9; the former British colony hosted a military parade with fighter jets and fireworks

ALCOHOL: EXPLAINER: MONA LISA: WATCH: SCREAM: LUCILLE: GETTY IMAGES; SPACE: NASA/SIPA; ADVOCACY: AP; DIGITS: REUTERS

PATH OF DESTRUCTION Waves stirred up by the approaching Typhoon Soudelor crash against the shoreline on Aug. 8 in the coastal city of Wenling in southeastern China. The storm recorded peak winds of 180 m.p.h., battering Taiwan and southeastern China with heavy rains and leaving at least 20 people dead. Meteorologists said the winds could strengthen the El Niño effect in the Pacific Ocean region, warming the water and increasing rainfall. *Photograph by Reuters*

EXPLAINER

Iraq shakes up its government

IRAQ'S PARLIAMENT UNANIMOUSLY APPROVED measures on Aug. 11 to overhaul the country's political system, the most radical changes to the nation's governance since the U.S.-led invasion of 2003. The reforms proposed by Prime Minister Haider al-Abadi came after a summer of antigovernment protests as Iraqis endured a heat wave and frequent power cuts. The country's top Shi'ite cleric, Grand Ayatullah Ali Husaini Sistani, has endorsed the move, but critics say it will simply benefit al-Abadi while deepening sectarian rifts.

TARGETING CORRUPTION Plans to review all corruption cases and reopen cases for officials suspected of misconduct are intended to win over the 47% of Iraqis who feel that political parties are corrupt. Cutting costly perks like personal bodyguards for officials may ease antipathy toward the political classes.

ERASING POSTS Three largely ceremonial vice-presidency posts will be abolished, as will three Deputy Prime Minister positions. All these posts are currently held by powerful players, including al-Abadi's chief rival, former Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. Some lawmakers fear unrest could follow. "We are expecting there to be assassination attempts, attempted coups," said Kurdish legislator Serwan Sereni.

PRIORITIZING EXPERIENCE Al-Abadi will scrap sectarian quotas in political appointments, a hallmark of the U.S.-imposed system that critics say promotes unqualified candidates. But the move risks allowing Shi'ite politicians to dominate high-level posts, alienating the country's Sunni minority at a time when ISIS extremists are battling Shi'ite-led forces in northern and western Iraq.

—NAINA BAJEKAL

‹ Al-Abadi unveiled reforms a year after his August 2014 appointment

DATA

LOST AND FOUND

A rare Stradivarius violin stolen 35 years ago was recently recovered by the FBI. Here are other famous artifacts that were stolen and later retrieved:

The *Mona Lisa*
The painting became an icon only after its 1911 theft and recovery two years later

The Queen
This $30 million watch ordered for Marie Antoinette in 1783 was stolen in 1983 and returned by the thief's wife 24 years later

The Scream
Versions of Edvard Munch's painting were stolen from Oslo galleries twice in a decade, in 1994 and 2004

Lucille
A collector reunited B.B. King with his iconic Gibson guitar in 2009 after finding it in a pawnshop

TRENDING

ELECTIONS
Former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton will give the Department of Justice a **private server and thumb drive** containing emails from her time in office, her presidential campaign said Aug. 11—part of the ongoing probe into whether any classified information was mishandled.

DISASTER
Colorado and New Mexico declared states of emergency Aug. 10 after an EPA cleanup crew spilled **3 million gal. of toxic waste** from a mine into the Animas River, turning the water orange. It flowed into the San Juan River and all the way to Utah.

AIR TRAFFIC
Nearly 2 in 10 **air-traffic controllers made serious errors,** and half of those were due to chronic fatigue, according to a 2011 study that the Federal Aviation Administration kept secret until the Associated Press reported on it. Some brought planes too close together.

THE RISK REPORT

A slowing China still picks security over innovation

By Ian Bremmer

FOR YEARS, CHINESE LEADERS HAVE welcomed foreign firms to help pull the country's economy and tech companies into the digital age. At the same time, they've tried to manage the flow of ideas and information into, out of and across the country, while protecting sensitive economic sectors. But recent evidence suggests that security hard-liners are now winning an internal political fight to establish greater state control of information and data. There are still senior officials who want to use wider exposure to market competition to empower innovation and enable entrepreneurship in areas including China's tech sectors. But as economic growth has slowed over the past couple of years—a reality driven home by the government's decision on Aug. 11 to devalue China's currency—the state has become much more cautious.

First, a sweeping national-security law, announced on July 1, gives Beijing new powers to crush online dissent and restrict foreign access to economic sectors deemed essential for China's economic and social stability. A week later, officials released the full text of a new draft cybersecurity law that will expand the government's authority to control data, networks and information. When the law is passed (likely next year), foreign companies will be forced to store data on their Chinese customers inside China and contend with security audits and pressure to turn over source code.

The cybersecurity law will also have a chilling effect on privacy in China by building a single nationwide ID system that ties the online identity of citizens to their physical identity. Chinese officials insist that anonymity online allows terrorists and criminals to operate in the shadows—and that anonymity must be eliminated to protect Chinese citizens. Foreign companies will have to help manage these threats—even when they don't agree with Beijing on what constitutes "terrorism" or a legitimate threat to national security. The cybersecurity law also provides a legal basis for the government to shut down the Internet in the event of serious social unrest.

> As economic growth has slowed over the past couple of years, the state has become much more cautious

China's leaders know that censorship can't work forever. But even if they can't fully eliminate freedom of online speech, they can limit freedom of online assembly. That's the more immediate domestic threat to the party's political supremacy.

None of this should come as a surprise. A free and open Internet will never be compatible with authoritarian government and the state-managed variety of capitalism. But these latest changes provide another useful reminder that when risk rises, China's leaders will always choose political stability over economic innovation.

BY THE NUMBERS

School start times

The majority of American schools begin too early in the day, a new CDC study says, leaving students groggy and grumpy. Here's what you need to know before back-to-school season. *—Julia Zorthian*

8:30 a.m.
Start time for middle and high schools recommended by the American Academy of Pediatrics. Research shows adolescents are better off rising later than falling asleep earlier

42
Number of states in which at least 75% of schools start before 8:30 a.m. The early classes make it more difficult for students to sleep the optimal 8½ to 9½ hours per night

60%
Percentage of students who slept at least eight hours per night in Minnesota high schools that started at 8:30 a.m. or later, according to a 2014 study from the University of Minnesota

ELECTIONS: REUTERS; DISASTER: AP; AIR TRAFFIC: SCHOOL: BLACKBERRY: GETTY IMAGES; GIFFORD: NFL PHOTOS/AP; IPHONE: APPLE; NEXUS 6: GOOGLE

Milestones

SENTENCED
To life in prison, **James Holmes,** the gunman in the 2012 shooting at a movie theater in Aurora, Colo. A jury spared Holmes the death penalty in the massacre that killed 12 people and injured 70 others.

DIAGNOSED
With cancer, Former President **Jimmy Carter.** The 39th President, now 90, said a recent liver surgery revealed the cancer, which he said has spread to other parts of his body.

SET
A new record for the 800-m freestyle, by **Katie Ledecky,** who swam it in 8 min. 7.39 sec. at the World Championships—her 10th world record in two years.

DIED
› **Frances Oldham Kelsey,** 101, FDA official who prevented thalidomide from reaching the U.S. market in the 1960s. The drug, used by pregnant women to combat morning sickness, caused birth deformities outside the U.S.
› **Billy Sherrill,** 78, producer who shaped country music in the 1960s and '70s. He wrote "Stand by Your Man" with Tammy Wynette.

Gifford, pictured in the 1960s, died Aug. 9 at 84

DIED

Frank Gifford
Football Giant and sportscaster

FRANK GIFFORD WAS THE MOST POPULAR NEW YORK GIANT that ever played—and when you're big in New York, you're huge. But he also had a humility and self-deprecating sense of humor that were rare for such an A-lister. He told me a story in his later years of going to the 21 Club and not getting his normal table. He joked, "You know, I remember the days when I used to be me." He could laugh about himself like that.

As a broadcaster, Frank worked the most popular program in the history of sports for 27 years. No broadcast crew was ever more beloved than Frank, Howard Cosell and Don Meredith were on *Monday Night Football* in the 1970s.

Frank came from a hardscrabble background, and he played in an era in the NFL when players didn't make much money. A lot of Frank's old teammates weren't as successful as he was, and I know that over the years, he helped them financially and in any other way he could. I hate to fall back on an old-fashioned word, but in every aspect of the definition, Frank Gifford was a gentleman.

—DAN DIERDORF

Dierdorf is a Pro Football Hall of Famer and award-winning sportscaster

TECH

A new phone bill

Verizon, the biggest cell-phone carrier in the U.S., recently announced that it's abandoning two-year contracts and the price-reduced phones that come with them. The change is a sign of where the industry is heading, and the move should mean more flexibility for customers. But it could also cause sticker shock as shoppers face the real cost of mobile phones for the first time. Here's how much some popular devices cost with a two-year contract, compared with their full retail price:

IPHONE 6 PLUS
$299.99 With a two-year contract
$749 Retail price
Apple began offering the cheaper iPhone 5C in 2013

GOOGLE NEXUS 6
$199.99 With a two-year contract
$499 Retail price
Google's flagship phones are likely to remain expensive

BLACKBERRY CLASSIC
$99.99 With a two-year contract
$379 Retail price
Diehard BlackBerry lovers can still get their devices relatively cheap

Google is trying to reinvent itself—and maybe Silicon Valley

By Matt Vella

IF THERE'S ONE COMPANY CAPABLE OF LITERALLY BREAKing the Internet, it's likely Google, the sprawling giant that provides everything from search results to viral videos and operating software for smartphones and tablets. On Aug. 10, the 16-year-old company did so figuratively, at least, by announcing it would rename and reorganize itself in one of the most unusual moves in Silicon Valley history.

Google—comprising the firm's best-known ventures including Google.com, Android, YouTube and its advertising businesses—will become a subsidiary of a new umbrella outfit called Alphabet. The latter will be a holding company with far-flung units pursuing driverless cars, life extension, Internet balloons, delivery drones, broadband service and more. "From the start, we've always strived to do more, and to do important and meaningful things with the resources we have," company co-founder and chief executive Larry Page wrote in a blog post announcing the change. "We are still trying to do things other people think are crazy but we are super excited about."

Alphabet—the name is a play on the diversity of companies it operates as well as a reference to alpha, a measurement of return adjusted for risk—will be overseen by Page, co-founder Sergey Brin and chief financial officer Ruth Porat. A slimmed-down Google, which generated almost all of the firm's $66 billion in revenue last year, will be run by new CEO Sundar Pichai, a rising star who has overseen the company's consumer products. Page likened the structure to the one employed by Warren Buffett's Berkshire Hathaway, which owns well-known subsidiaries ranging from Geico to Dairy Queen.

More than a change of name or redrawn org chart is at stake. Google's founders are grasping for an innovation model that can sustain the company in perpetuity—and perhaps show a way forward for other technology firms. History is rich with examples of companies that grew large and wealthy by mastering the tools of a particular era, only to ultimately become irrelevant. This problem, shorthanded as the "innovator's dilemma" since Harvard professor Clayton Christensen coined the term in the late 1990s, has been simmering in Page's and Brin's minds since the company's earliest days.

But how to endure in Silicon Valley is more or less a mystery. Apple's model has been to continually disrupt itself, plowing profits from a current cash cow into ideas that will eventually eclipse it. IBM, before it, shed its signature business, computers, to evolve. Now Google's founders surmise that they have found their own model. (Google declined to make executives available to talk about the strategy.)

Visiting the Googleplex, the company's Mountain View, Calif., headquarters, has always been a nonpareil experience, not quite captured in parodies like the hapless Hooli campus on HBO's *Silicon Valley* or the sinister offices of The Circle in Dave Eggers' 2013 novel of the same name. It's most akin to touring an Ivy League research institution on the first warm day of spring: Ph.D.s everywhere, some whizzing around on the company's multicolored bicycles, some debating the limits of artificial intelligence on the lawn, many more indoors teaching algorithms to do new things. As a result, Google has at times seemed more like a collection of brilliant people whose pursuits are funded by a quirk in the evolution of the Internet—the wild profitability of search ads—than a firm with a vision.

Google co-founders Brin and Page with then CEO Eric Schmidt, center, in 2006

This kind of kinetic culture is fine when a company is young. But with time, questions of how to maintain innovation and retain talented workers come to the fore. What's more, over the past decade investors have gotten more adept at lobbying companies, no matter how profitable, that they deemed to lack focus. Apple and Microsoft, for instance, have been egged into instituting investor-enriching stock-buyback programs or giving up board seats. Google's

GOOGLE LEADERS: DAVID STRICK—REDUX; PICHAI: AP

GOOGLE'S ALPHA BET
A closer look at the constellation of companies that will make up Alphabet:

Google As a subsidiary, it will include search, YouTube and Android.

Calico Google launched this life-sciences company in 2013 with the aim of extending the human life span.

Nest The thermostat company that Google bought for $3.2 billion in 2014 is the centerpiece in the firm's plan to control the smart homes of the future.

Google Ventures This venture arm regularly invests in companies that compete with Google products.

Fiber The high-speed broadband Internet service is now available in three U.S. cities.

Google Capital This investment arm focuses on late-stage growth companies.

Google X The research lab has been working on self-driving cars and wearables.

Sidewalk Labs This newly launched startup is focused on using technology to improve city life.

move—as well as Page's promise to more transparently report the expenditures associated with its long shots—will presumably insulate Alphabet from such meddling.

More important, if it takes, the creation of Alphabet may come to be seen as a more sophisticated understanding of what drives innovation. Each subsidiary will have its own chief—often a brilliant figure. Nest, the smart-home-gadget maker, will have Tony Fadell, the so-called Godfather of the iPod. Google X, the research-and-development lab, will have Astro Teller, a computer scientist and novelist. Calico, charged with extending the human life span, will have Arthur Levinson, the former head of pioneering biotech firm Genentech. Not surprisingly, Page described Alphabet as "businesses prospering through strong leaders and independence."

In this light, Alphabet begins to look more like a confederation of the world's most ambitious companies than an unfocused, if very rich, tech company squandering its gains on a series of larks. Whether or not Page's reshuffling amounts to more than semantics depends a great deal on what Alphabet does next. In time, the umbrella may expand. For example, the electric-car maker Tesla, which Google reportedly almost acquired in 2013, suddenly looks like a logical Alphabet company. Same for Twitter.

Then again, if the more focused, cash-generating Google subsidiary begins to flounder, Alphabet may come to be seen as the worst sort of misdirection. Google, after all, has a long history of management reorganizations that haven't always hit the mark. (Analysts mostly cheered the Alphabet announcement, and Google's market cap grew by $20 billion the following day.)

Finding a way to continue innovating is important for Google's—or rather Alphabet's—future. But there is an even more fundamental question in the background: What are corporations good for? At a base level, companies are "little platoons," in the words of Edmund Burke, that represent the ties that bind and drive us forward. By reorganizing itself, Google is trying to find a logical way to support its own array of little platoons marching ahead.

Sundar Pichai
Google's new CEO

In Google's unprecedented corporate restructuring, Sundar Pichai, 43, may be the biggest winner. His appointment caps a rise from middle management to the C-suite in just a decade. —*Victor Luckerson*

CLAIMS TO FAME
Pichai spearheaded the creation of Chrome, Google's web browser, shortly after joining the company in 2004. It is now the most popular browser in the U.S. and has helped Google cement its lead in search.

CURRENT CHALLENGES
Google has dominated online searches for more than a decade, but mobile users are increasingly going to specific apps to find information that Google's web-crawling bots can't access.

BIGGEST CHAMPION
Google co-founder Larry Page. He increasingly relied on Pichai in recent years to manage Google's day-to-day operations.

BIGGEST OBSTACLE
European regulators, who have filed an antitrust charge that could force the tech giant to pay $6 billion in fines and change the way it displays search results.

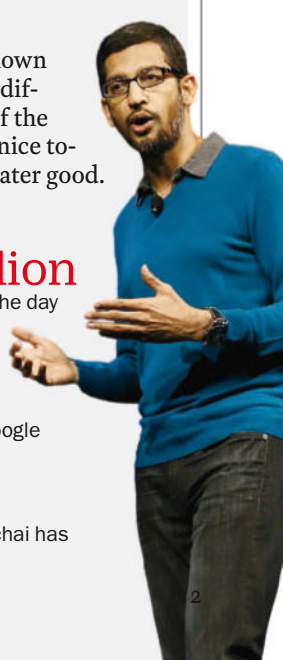
CAN HE DO IT?
Yes. Pichai has shown a skill for getting different divisions of the company to play nice together for the greater good.

THE STATS

$460 billion
Google's valuation the day after the Alphabet announcement

3
Number of times Google has changed CEOs

11
Number of years Pichai has spent at Google



Sizing up your diet? The soda industry would rather have a talk about exercise

By Alice Park

YOU MAY NOT HAVE NOTICED IT YET, BUT SODAMAKERS ARE working hard to get you off your couch. On Aug. 9, a New York *Times* article revealed that Coca-Cola was quietly funding a group of scientists called Global Energy Balance Network that emphasizes the role of exercise, as opposed to diet, in fighting obesity. There's also Mixify, an advertising and social-media campaign launched by Coca-Cola, Dr Pepper, Pepsi and the American Beverage Association that suggests "mixing lazy days with something light, following sweaty workouts with whatever you're craving"—encouraging the idea that when you're active, you can afford to eat or drink whatever you like.

This has some nutrition and obesity experts charging soda companies, whose sales of carbonated soft drinks have hit a 20-year low, with cherry-picking science to make its products more appealing. "The notion that we can exercise away a bad diet is absolutely unfounded," says Dr. David Ludwig, director of the Obesity Prevention Center at Boston Children's Hospital and professor of pediatrics and nutrition at Harvard, "and it's contradicted by many research studies." Indeed, there isn't strong evidence to show that exercise alone—at least at the level that anyone other than a marathoner maintains—can help people shed pounds and keep them off.

And the American public seems to know this too. After rising sharply in recent decades, obesity rates are stabilizing, thanks in large part to a lightening up of the diet. Faced with pressure from health experts, Americans are curbing their calories—including from soda—for the first time in 40 years.

In response, some soda manufacturers have made changes in an attempt to make their products healthier, including moving away from some controversial artificial sweeteners in their diet products. For their sugared versions, however, they're focusing on the old "calories in, calories out" equation. The problem, say experts, is that people are notoriously bad at measuring both what they eat and what they burn—and, even more significantly, our bodies don't treat all calories the same way, especially when they are exposed to a lot of sweets over time. Like a car that's repeatedly driven at high speed and then suddenly halted, humans' biological metabolic brakes—in this case the insulin that processes sugar—start to wear down and become less efficient. That's the first step toward weight gain and Type 2 diabetes. The more processed and refined foods are eaten, the more insulin is pumped out to break down the food. And the more insulin that circulates around, the more fat is sequestered away, making it extremely difficult to lose weight.

That's why the idea of just working off the calories you eat doesn't capture all the hormonal and metabolic changes that occur in the body when food comes in. "If you're a toaster oven, then the calorie-balance model is for you," says Ludwig. "If you're a human, it's not helpful."

It's not the first time science has been used to sway public perceptions about the health effects of certain behaviors; the tobacco industry famously promoted messaging based on studies that claimed to prove that "light" or "low-tar" cigarettes were less harmful than regular ones.

No doctor or public-health official would argue with the soundness of getting more exercise, but in these new campaigns, scientifically solid advice is being invoked to encourage the less scientifically valid idea that extra calories from processed foods or sugared drinks can be easily worked off. "It's tough to argue with 'exercise is good for you,'" says Dr. Yoni Freedhoff of the University of Ottawa, who tipped off the *Times* to Coca-Cola's financial ties to those scientists. "But Coca-Cola is getting involved in a way that isn't in the best interest of public health."

When asked for comment, a Coca-Cola representative directed TIME to a statement on its website that noted "a balanced diet and regular exercise are two key ingredients for a healthy lifestyle and that is reflected in both our long-term and short-term business actions."

SODA STATS

Sales are down, but these drinks are still extremely popular

$65 B
What Americans spent on soda in 2012

15–18
Teaspoons of sugar in a typical can of sugared soda

240
Calories in a typical can of sugared soda

ARMS: BOOM BOX: GETTY IMAGES; BOTTLE: COCA-COLA; ILLUSTRATION BY GLUEKIT FOR TIME

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70 years after the bombs

A boy tends to a candlelit paper lantern near the Atomic Bomb Dome in Hiroshima, Japan, on Aug. 6, to mark the 70th anniversary of the World War II–ending bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Pope Francis later called the blasts a "lasting warning to humanity" to ban nuclear weapons.
Photograph by Chris McGrath—Getty Images

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原爆被爆者供養 ピースメッセージ
とうろう流し

America is about to rediscover a land of enchantment.

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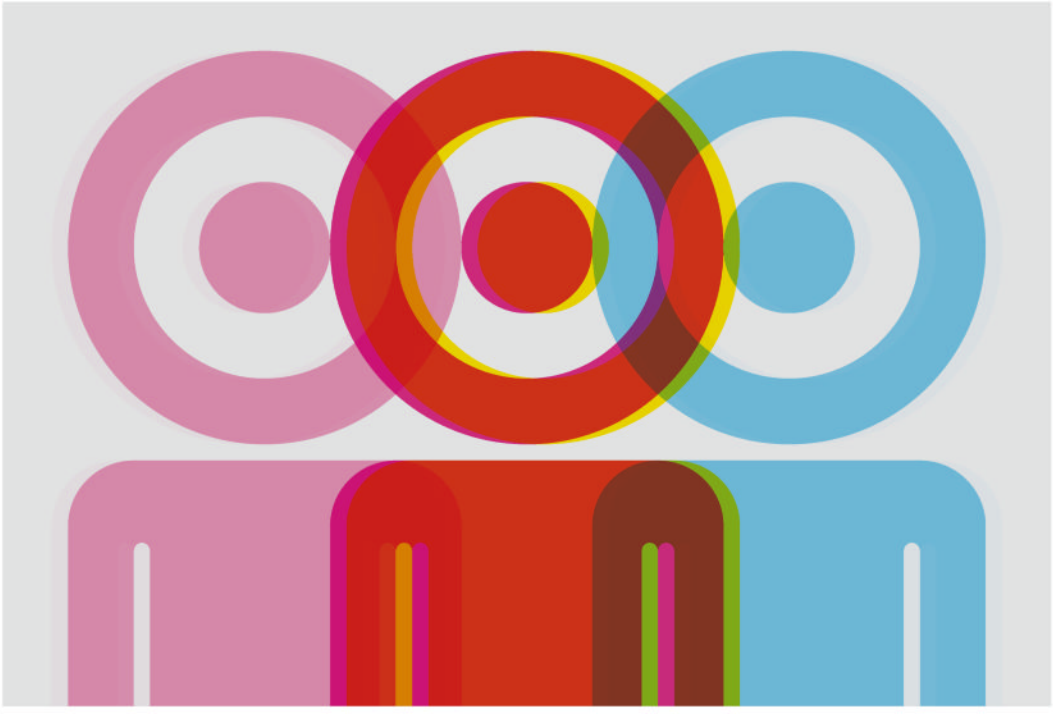
The View

'THE PHRASE BLACK LIVES MATTER *ISN'T JUST A METAPHOR; IT'S A CALL FOR AWARENESS.'* —PAGE 31



Target's decision to remove BOYS *and* GIRLS *toy signs is more than a symbolic gesture*

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

SOCIETY

What the toy aisle can teach us about gender parity

By Katy Steinmetz

WHEN TARGET ANNOUNCED ON Aug. 7 that its stores would be retiring signage that directed boys to buy certain toys (trucks, action figures) and girls to buy others (dolls, frilly costumes), hundreds flocked to its website to complain. "This is beyond stupid," wrote one customer, vowing to forsake the mass retailer. "Boys will always be boys and girls will always be girls!" Stop kowtowing to the "PC police," sniped another.

But those voices met with ample resistance. Many parents and commenters expressed support—even elation—after the announcement, no doubt because they've started to realize something psychologists have been saying for years: that children will be better off if they're not forced into gendered boxes. It's natural for kids to experiment with different toys and identities. Dismissing such tendencies "can be so limiting on how kids view themselves, on what skills they develop and what their interests become," says Debbie Sterling, CEO and founder of GoldieBlox, which makes engineering-focused toys for girls.

It's also an urge driven in large part by marketing. "There are more similarities than differences between the genders," says Stephanie Coontz, an author and historian who teaches family studies at Evergreen State College. In the early 20th century, for example, pink—now the signature color of princesses—was considered a hue more appropriate for boys. During World War II, Coontz notes, women proved that they could do traditionally masculine jobs, like

working in factories, while their kids played with nongendered toys, like red Radio Flyer wagons.

But by the '80s, companies like Mattel and Hasbro had figured out they could make more money by creating two separate toy markets. And so the era of "blue for boys, pink for girls" exploded; along with it came a host of new stereotypes about what we should like and how we should be.

Those expectations play out well beyond childhood. Today's women, who grew up at a time when girls were not encouraged to pick up G.I. Joes, are still excluded from roughly 177,000 posts in the Army, a branch of the military that segregated genders until nearly 1980. (Women were initially viewed as incapable of commanding men, says military historian Beth Bailey.) Today's men, many of whom were raised to battle with action figures rather than nurture baby dolls, still rarely pursue careers in nursing or child care.

Of course, none of this means that there are no differences between men and women or that emphasizing them can't be helpful. Most people, for instance, are not clamoring for dating sites that list only "people seeking people." And fighting for equality often entails highlighting gaps between the sexes, especially in areas like economic standing. "But play is a way to learn about who we become as adults," says Ellen Dubois, who teaches history and gender studies at UCLA. "Toys and what they signify, which is the free expression of play among children, should be as open and diverse as possible."

Beyond Target's decision, there are signs that we, as a society, are starting to embrace more-fluid gender roles. In May, organizers in Utah launched what's believed to be the first all-girls tackle-football league, and advocates are pushing for more mixed-sex sports prepuberty. "It's healthy for boys to understand that women can play just as skillfully and with just as much strength and grit as the boys do," says Nancy Hogshead-Makar, CEO of Champion Women and a former Olympic swimmer. And the Pentagon is preparing to address the issue of why any combat slots should be closed to women.

The transgender-rights movement—now more visible than ever—has also pushed us to question how we divide and limit the sexes. On Aug. 10, Seattle became the third city to mandate that all single-stall bathrooms be labeled unisex. The move was driven by people who often say they feel unwelcome in the men's room and the women's room—and who, as kids, were likely to feel as if they were forced into the wrong-gendered toy aisle. "I would have died to just be able to go to a box of toys and pick out whatever I wanted rather than what I was expected to," says Sasha Buchert, a transgender attorney living in the Bay Area, "whether it was a ball or a Barbie doll."

DIGITS

1.9%

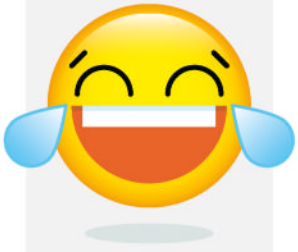
Percentage of Facebook users who type out **"LOL"** to express laughter. Most are more likely to use …

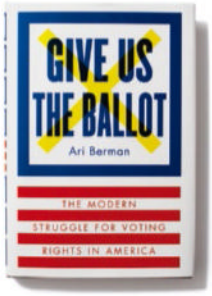
HAHA
51.4%

HEHE
13.1%

EMOJI
33.7%

according to findings from Facebook's data-science team.





THE NUTSHELL

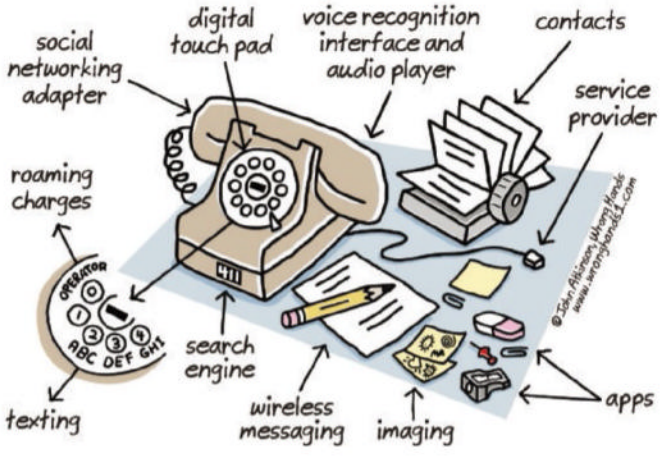
Give Us the Ballot

FIFTY YEARS AFTER THE PASSING OF the Voting Rights Act, racial minorities are still being systematically excluded from the ballot box, argues journalist Ari Berman. And in this book, he presents the data (and historical context) to prove it. From 2011 to 2015, 49 states introduced 395 new voting restrictions, ostensibly meant to reduce fraud. But many of them axed early voting, which black voters are more likely to do; disenfranchised felons, many of whom are black men; and cracked down on registration drives, which largely recruit minority voters. (Such moves were emboldened by a controversial 2013 Supreme Court decision.) As 2016 looms, Berman suggests, the U.S.—a country "famous for exporting democracy"—has a way to go before ensuring "one of its most basic human rights at home."

—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Vintage smartphone



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

For more on these ideas, visit **time.com/theview**

BIG IDEA

The slide-scraper

Visitors to London's Olympic Park have been taking stairs and elevators up the 375-ft. (114 m) ArcelorMittal Orbit—the U.K.'s tallest sculpture—since 2012. Soon they'll have a chance to slide down. —*S.B.*

1. British architecture firm Bblur designed the **584-ft. (178 m) tube slide,** which will be the world's longest.

2. It will be **built to spiral in and around** part of the structure's existing red helix, helter-skelter-style.

3. The ride down will take about **40 sec.,** meaning visitors will travel approximately 15 m.p.h. (24 km/h). It's expected to open in spring 2016.

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME; SLIDE-SCRAPER: REUTERS; GINGKO BILOBA, MACA: GETTY IMAGES

QUICK TAKE

Autism is not a disorder—it's an opportunity

By Jeffrey Kluger

A BELL CURVE CAN BE A THRILLING PLACE to live. You've got the safe and familiar masses in the middle, the faintly eccentric folks off to the sides and then, farther still, the wild and surprising land of the outliers. You think you don't want to go there—and then, once you do, you never want to leave.

That is the deeply affirming message of *NeuroTribes,* a new book about the mystery—and history—of autism, by Steve Silberman. Autism, Silberman argues, has had as hard a go as autistics themselves—from long before the 1940s, when psychiatrist Leo Kanner and pediatrician Hans Asperger (yes, that Asperger) first named the condition.

There was the 18th century polymath Henry Cavendish, known both for his scientific genius and for his strange and solitary ways. There were the generations of less fortunate autistics, dismissed as "imbeciles" and marked for extermination in Nazi Germany. There are too the well-intentioned but misguided people of the modern era, who believe they can treat—even cure!—autism with chelation or homeopathy or a gluten-free diet.

But there are other, better tales of families learning to embrace the challenges that define autism—because along with those challenges comes a ferocious focus that could produce a musician or a computer whiz or even a genius like Cavendish. Another new book, *Uniquely Human,* by Philip Lieberman, makes a similarly optimistic case.

Of course, raising a wunderkind is hardly the reward that awaits every parent of an autistic child. But raising a child who will touch and move and mystify you like no other person in your life, who can see the world through a slightly inclined prism and show you colors beyond the visible spectrum—that's not so rare. Neurodiversity, both books argue, isn't always easy. But it is often grand.

Kluger is a TIME *editor at large*

ROUNDUP

NATURAL APHRODISIACS

Despite their popular portrayals, foods such as chocolate, oysters and yams do not have any measurable effect on people's sex drives, according to new findings published in the journal *Sexual Medicine Reviews.* But these natural substances show promise:

GINKGO BILOBA
The herb is used in Chinese medicine as an extract to treat sexual dysfunction and has led to improvements for men and women in a small trial.

GINSENG
Some studies show the herb is more effective than a placebo in treating erectile dysfunction, but optimal dosing remains unknown.

MACA
A handful of studies have shown that the root vegetable, which is native to Peru, can improve sexual function in healthy women and treat erectile dysfunction in men.
—*Alexandra Sifferlin*

Farm-to-fridge is heating up

FOR CITY DWELLERS, SHOPPING FOR THE FRESHEST INGREDIENTS USUALLY MEANS TREKKING to a farmers' market or buying a weekly farm share, which requires signing up in advance and accepting whatever shows up in the harvest. Now a new crop of entrepreneurs is trying to bring the convenience of online shopping to harder-to-get organic and artisanal foods. Less than 2% of sales in the $600 billion annual U.S. grocery market take place online, but that's growing—fast. "When I started in 2009, people thought I was insane," says Benzi Ronen, founder and CEO of one such startup, Farmigo. "Now we see massive numbers going into the online food industry." Here are four companies working on fresher-food delivery. —SIOBHAN O'CONNOR

FARMIGO
Ronen says Farmigo targets people who want consistent access to fresh, healthy food but may live outside city centers, where local food and artisanal goods can be harder to come by. *Available in Northern California, New York and New Jersey (and Seattle in October); Farmigo.com*

GOOD EGGS
The farmers' market meets online retail in this buzzed-about startup that recently scaled back from four cities to one. (The co-founders said they "made a mistake in expanding as quickly as we did.") *Available in the San Francisco Bay Area; Goodeggs.com*

FARM TO PEOPLE
This father-son operation sources small-batch pantry items, fine organic cheeses, baked goods, gifts, jams, charcuterie and more—and then delivers them to your door. Food can also be sorted by gluten-free and vegan. *Available in the 48 contiguous states; Farmtopeople.com*

INSTACART
It'll do the grocery run for you. Instacart recently partnered with Whole Foods to offer personal shopping and delivery in 16 markets. (There's a delivery fee for smaller orders.) Some Costcos and Krogers have signed up too. *Available in 16 cities; Instacart.com*

How Farmigo works

Farmers tell Farmigo what they have available, which the site then lists in its online shop along with food from local artisans

1. Farmers and foodmakers deliver what's been ordered to a Farmigo hub
2. Farmigo staff prepare and pack up the orders, then sort them by ZIP code for delivery
3. Small trucks deliver to pickup spots run by a volunteer, who gets a discount on groceries
4. Shoppers collect groceries at the pickup spot, such as a church, school or office, in their area

ILLUSTRATION BY TODD DETWILER FOR TIME

Kashi
The Seven Whole Grain Company

GOOD FARMING

GOOD SPROUTING

GOOD FOR ALL

GOOD FOR YOU

WE'RE ALL CONNECTED. We believe each little bit is as important as the whole. Like the six different grains that go into every delicious bowl of Organic Promise Sprouted Grains.

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IN THE ARENA

The Iranian-vote carnival: focus on what happens once the nuclear deal goes through

By Joe Klein

WITH THE NATION'S ATTENTION FIXED ON CECIL THE LION and Donald the Loon, it was easy to miss an absolutely crucial speech that Barack Obama made about the Iran nuclear negotiation on Aug. 5, the day before the Republican debate in Cleveland. It was as clear and concise an argument for the deal as you will find—if you read one political speech this year, I recommend this one. But Obama hurt his cause with some needlessly partisan rhetoric on an issue that ultimately will need serious, nonbombastic attention from experts in both parties, whether or not the deal passes Congress. I understand the President's ire. His opponents are talking ovens, holocausts, the eradication of Israel—as if Israel didn't have the most formidable military deterrent in the region. Yes, it's kind of lovely that both Republicans and Iran's hard-liners oppose the settlement, but Obama should have looked past the passions of this moment. Yes, many of those against this deal were passionately in favor of the war in Iraq, but there are some very prominent Republican proponents of that war who quietly believe that this deal is worth pursuing under two conditions: If we can surround it with a tough and rigorous policy that addresses Iran's aggression in the region. And if we can be very clear about the consequences to Iran if it cheats. But those Republican senior statesmen (and women) have been told by GOP leaders to withhold their (qualified) support until after Congress votes on the deal in September.

THE CONGRESSIONAL VOTE on Iran this September has become your standard American political carnival—the foreign policy equivalent of the futile attempts to repeal Obamacare. For Republicans, it will be a referendum on Barack Obama. They will vote against it. For some Jewish Democrats, it will be a referendum on Benjamin Netanyahu and the not-so-subtle pressures being exerted by the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. They'll also vote no. Indeed, a large majority in both houses will vote against the deal. Then the President will veto it. Then there will be another vote, on the President's veto. I suspect that Obama will be able to cover the one-third needed to sustain his veto. The deal will go forward, but what then?

In the unlikely event that the deal is defeated by a veto-proof majority, Iran will have two choices: It can take the high road and say this deal was negotiated with the world and it will adhere to the agreement, thereby making America look globally inept and powerless, since every one of our negotiating partners—not just the Russians and Chinese, but the Europeans as well—will stick by the accord. Or the Supreme Leader can say, "See, you can't trust the Great Satan. We're going to build the bomb right now and protect ourselves."

This does not mean inevitable war—that was another Obama overreach in the speech. If we could contain and deter the Soviet Union for nearly 40 years, we can do the same with the relatively minuscule Iranian threat. There are those who say that unlike the Russians, the Iranian regime is led by irrational religious fanatics—but the only time in this century an Iranian leader ever publicly mentioned the need for an "Islamic" bomb occurred in December 2001, when Ayatullah Hashemi Rafsanjani said a bomb was needed for an entirely rational reason: to deter the Israeli nuclear threat. The Supreme Leader has since issued a fatwa condemning the use of nuclear weapons, but there are those who point to the Shi'ite tradition of *taqqiya*—telling lies for the greater good—as evidence he can't be trusted. Only a fool would deny that's a possibility.

BUT LET'S TALK about probabilities: Obama will beat Congress, and the deal will go forward. The Iranians will have to comply in every aspect with the new regime—dismantle most of its centrifuges, destroy or sell almost all its enriched uranium, destroy the core of its lone plutonium reactor, fully comply with the inspection rules. It will have to do all this by March of next year. It will not receive a penny in sanctions relief until it does.

The U.S. and Israel need to send a clear—and unified—signal that we will insist on full compliance from Iran, that we will not tolerate any fudging and that we will take action to block any Iranian aggression in the region. On Aug. 3, 70 former leaders of Israel's defense and intelligence community issued a statement saying that, like it or not, the Iranian nuclear accord is a done deal and the job now is to put forth every effort to enforce it. It would be nice if some leading Republicans said the same as soon as the veto is upheld. This is too important for the same old partisan frolics. But harsh, partisan talk from the President won't help us get there.

IRAN-DEAL APPROVAL

A late-July poll by Public Policy Polling revealed that 54% of American voters favor the Iran deal while 38% oppose it. Among Democrats, support is 75%.

Congress needs 218 House votes to pass a resolution disapproving the deal; the GOP says it has secured the votes. Overriding a subsequent veto requires 290 votes.

AP

VIEWPOINT

Despite the Trump distraction, Black Lives Matter won't be sent to the back of the bus

By Kareem Abdul-Jabbar

DEAR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES:

With the first anniversary of the killing of Michael Brown this month, America needs to know how the tumultuous events of the past year have affected your stance regarding the needs of the black community. In order for African Americans to determine this, please select from the following the phrase that best defines your current philosophy: a) Black lives matter, b) Black votes matter, c) Black entertainers and athletes matter, d) All of the above, e) None of the above.

If you chose anything other than "a," you probably don't deserve any votes—black, brown or white. You might get votes by default for being less bad than the alternatives, but votes gotten that way aren't much of an endorsement of your leadership abilities. And making things better for African Americans in a substantial and meaningful way in this country is going to require an outstanding leader.

Today the phrase *Black Lives Matter* has become a political touchstone in determining the basic qualities of a leader: vision, intelligence and—most of all—courage.

COURAGE IS REQUIRED in order to speak out in support of Black Lives Matter. So many Americans misunderstand the meaning of the phrase that there's an outraged backlash against it. The popular misinterpretation, encouraged by some politicians, seems to be that by saying Black Lives Matter, African Americans are seeking special attention. In fact, it's the opposite. They are seeking their fair share of opportunities without receiving the "special attention" of being profiled, arrested, imprisoned or killed.

Many of you candidates—including the only black candidate, Ben Carson—have used the more mundane phrase *All Lives Matter,* which appeases racism deniers. This is cowardly because it completely ignores the problem and panders to the least politically informed constituency.

Most Americans are already in agreement that all life matters—it's just that blacks want to make sure they are included in that category of "all," which so many studies prove is not the case. In the future, think of *Black Lives Matter* as a simplified version of *We Would Like to Create a Country in Which Black Lives Matter as Much as White Lives in Terms of Physical Safety, Education, Job Opportunities, Criminal Prosecution and Political Power.*

Studies prove that the education system is biased in favor of white students: a 2014 U.S. Education Department survey concluded that students of color in public schools are punished more and receive less access than white students to experienced teachers. This leads to lower academic performance for minorities, putting them at greater risk of dropping out of school. Minorities are also on the short end of the job market: unemployment among blacks is about double that among whites. One study found that job applicants with black-sounding names received 50% fewer callbacks than those with white-sounding names.

CALLS FOR CHANGE

59%

Percentage of Americans polled by the Pew Research Center who said the country needed to continue making changes to achieve racial equality

73%

Percentage of African Americans polled by Pew who characterized racism as a big problem in our society today

MORE IMPORTANT is the legitimate fear black people have for their lives. The killing of unarmed black men, women and children at the hands of police this past year has been well documented in the press. The phrase *Black Lives Matter* isn't just a metaphor; it's a call for awareness of the literal danger to one's physical body merely by being black in America. A danger that whites don't share.

With the nation focused on the Trump distraction, the Black Lives Matter issue has been moved to the back of the bus. But don't expect the issue to wait patiently for its turn in the spotlight. Take a look at an Aug. 5 Pew Research Center poll, which concludes that 58% of Hispanics and 73% of African Americans believe racism is a big problem. That's two voting blocs. Perhaps even more relevant is that 44% of whites agree that it's a significant problem, which is an increase of 17 points since 2010. Finally, the most important finding: 59% of all those polled agree that the country "needs to continue making changes in order to give blacks equal rights with whites." That's up from 46% about a year ago.

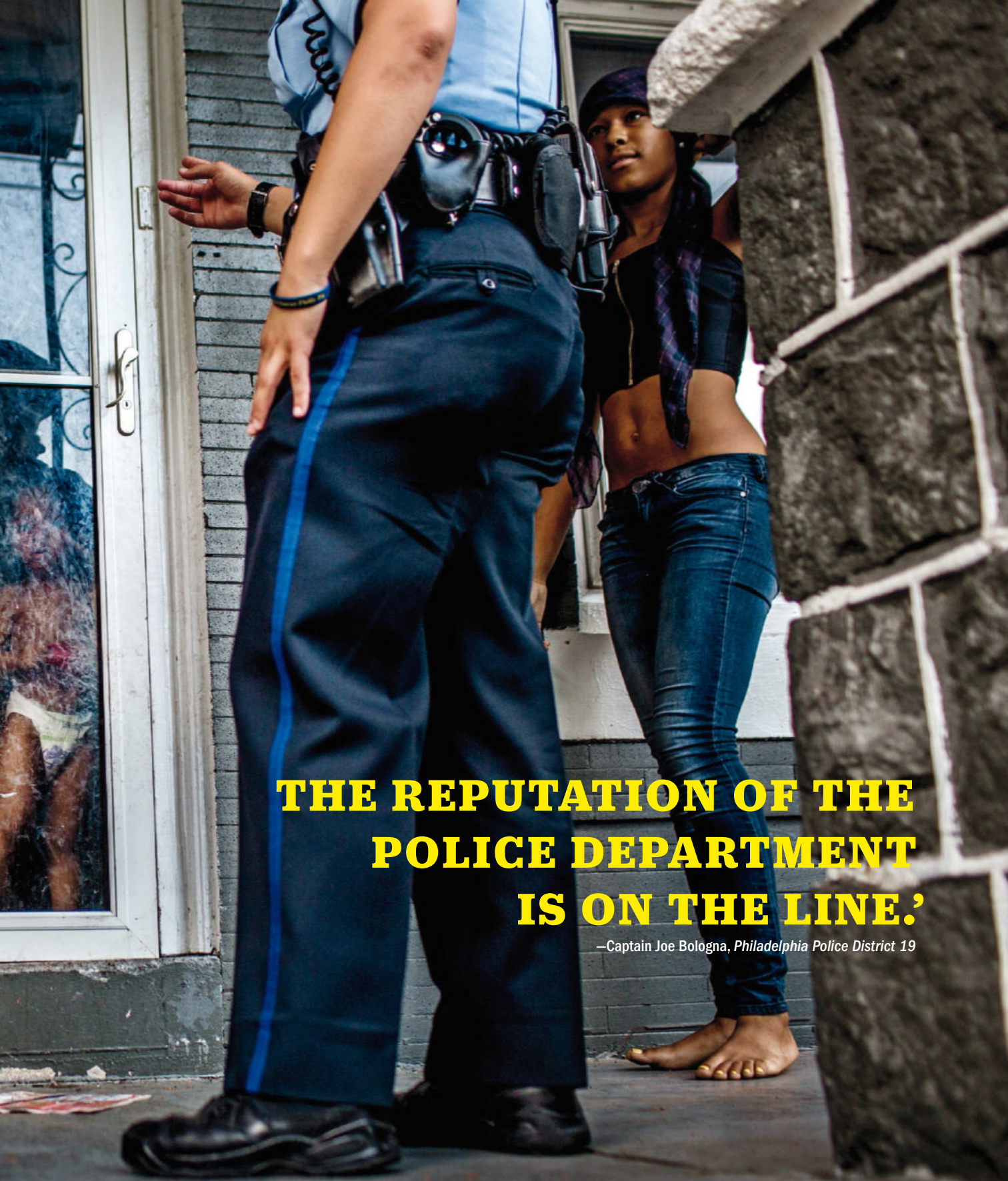
In his novel *Animal Farm,* George Orwell satirizes totalitarian governments that revise history by changing their original commandment: "All animals are equal" becomes "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." By ignoring the Black Lives Matter issue, you're proclaiming your political position that "all life matters, but some lives matter more than others." Let's see how that works out for you next November.

Abdul-Jabbar is a six-time NBA champion and league Most Valuable Player

‘EVERY TIME A POLICE OFFICER FIRES HIS WEAPON,

Officers respond to a young woman who said she was threatened by an ex-boyfriend on July 28 in Philadelphia’s 19th District

Photographs by Natalie Keyssar for TIME



THE REPUTATION OF THE POLICE DEPARTMENT IS ON THE LINE.'

—Captain Joe Bologna, *Philadelphia Police District 19*

What It's Like Being a Cop Now

By Karl Vick/Philadelphia

Officers Richard O'Brien, left, and Paul Watson detained a man on July 29 for fitting a suspect's description and arrested him for allegedly violating a court order

Captain Joe Bologna chats with Louise Rob she called him in off the street to talk about

TREVOR PESZKO WEARS the uniform of a Philadelphia cop with the same earnestness that made him a success in his first career, as a corporate trainer for Chuck E. Cheese's. "They flew me to Vegas to dress up as the mascot for their GM convention," he says. "That was my first time in Vegas. I was 19." And at 31, he's back in the city where he grew up, walking slowly toward the driver's-side window of a car that has just run a red light in a high-crime patch of town. Peszko is white. The driver is black. And as if the neighborhood does not look sufficiently desolate already, flies buzz around a rat dead on the pavement between them.

Peszko walks past it and, when he reaches the rear of the car, pauses briefly to press his fingertips on the trunk. It's a routine move intended to address hazards that predate all recent controversies attending police work. The touch assures that, first, the trunk is indeed latched and will not, in some dramatic motion perhaps not seen outside of Hollywood, spring open to allow a hidden gunman to spray the officer with bullets. It also assures that in the somewhat less remote chance that the driver opens fire and takes off, he flees with his victim's fingerprints on the car.

But when Peszko reaches the driver's window and peers down, the only thing pointing at him is a cell phone. It's propped on the speedometer ledge with its lens turned outward, recording everything he does and says, which turns out to be: "Just be straight with me: I know you're late for work." And "Next time it might be a ticket."

Wherever a cop shows up today, so do people with cell-phone cameras. They hold them out from their bodies, like shields, and up in the faces of the officers, like taunts. "They got a cell-phone 'gun,'" says Anthony Jones, who like Peszko patrols some of the city's roughest neighborhoods. The phones have become so common in the crowds that are increasingly

TIME spoke with police officers around the country about why they became cops

FIRST PERSON

Angelo Harris, 37
Senior patrol officer, Hampton, Va.

On Christmas Day 2001, I got shot in my grandma's front yard. An individual approached me asking if I knew how to get drugs, then a second person came up behind me and tried to reach into my pocket. When the first guy took out a handgun, I turned to run, and that's when I felt the impact near my left knee. My grandparents called the police. The officers were so reassuring. It was remarkable how fast they came up with suspects. It touched me to the point where I wanted to do the same.

throngings arrests that the department circulated a flyer showing a "gun" with the barrel opened to hold an iPhone. It went out at roll call, along with the usual "Be careful out there," in the hope that Philadelphia might avoid joining a list that much of the country can now recite from memory: Ferguson, North Charleston and, sadly, onward.

"Nowadays we're in a culture where everything's against the police, at least in the areas I patrol," says officer Ernie Williams. "Social media, news outlets, they're really coming down on police. And we still gotta come to work. I pray nobody's going to get shot or hurt, but the reality is, somebody probably is. We still have a job to do. And at times it can be a very difficult job."

Now would be one of those times. There are some 680,000 sworn police officers in the U.S., and in the past 12 months, every one of them has had to answer, in one way or another, for the actions of colleagues they will never meet except on the screens running the latest viral police incident. "There's times," says Sergeant Francis Kelly, "when you get resistance because of what happens in some other part of the country."

For most cops, the scrutiny is not debilitating. It is not even new. In many ways it is merely an intensification of what police have always encountered: the public's wary attention. Whether wrestling a suspect to the ground or buying a coffee at 7-Eleven, they are instantly the center of attention. The watchmen are used to being watched.

What's changed is something else: the assumption of who is good and who is bad. In a Gallup survey in June, just 52% of Americans expressed confidence in the police, down 4 points from a year earlier and tying the lowest level since 1993. The atmosphere then was defined by the beating of Rodney King, recorded by a man on the balcony of his Los Angeles apartment with a Sony Handycam. Cops have always

inson in her kitchen on July 31 after a neighboring abandoned property

Officer Jade Howard scans the squad-car computer on July 29. The screens list all calls for service, which average about 80 in an eight-hour evening shift

been tribal, keeping to their own in the weary belief that what they do is work only another cop could understand. Now everyone is an expert, and the zeal of bystanders "with their cameras out, 'waiting for something to happen,'" as one Philadelphia officer puts it, has altered the fraught dynamic between the arrested and the arresting.

What's it like to be a cop in America today? To find out, TIME spent weeks with the police force that calls itself the nation's oldest—Philadelphia's was founded in 1797. It's a relatively diverse force—57% white compared with a national average of 80%—charged with keeping the peace in a particularly violent city. The city's 248 homicides in 2014 were three-quarters of the 328 in New York City, which is five times larger. Police commissioner Charles Ramsey, who like the mayor is African American, readily acknowledges that America's cops are facing a crisis.

But what does that mean day to day, more than a year after the killing in Ferguson altered the way many Americans think about police? The answer emerged in ride-alongs, station-house chats and sit-down interviews summed up in the words of one officer: "Everything is just harder." Confrontations are more numerous, and when the blood is up, so is the risk of the very thing everyone is trying to avoid—in the tattered, volatile neighborhoods to which the rest of the world until recently paid as little attention as possible.

CAPTAIN JOE BOLOGNA calls West Philadelphia's Police District 19 "a microcosm of the city," and he presides over it like a mayor. It contains only 90,000 of Philadelphia's 1.6 million residents and 6.4 of its 142 sq. mi., but the 19th extends from some of the most expensive homes in the city—the mayor, district attorney and a Congressman reside in the lush greenery of the north—to hardcore urban neighborhoods in the south, where the precinct house stands next door to Mr. C's Love Lounge. "Million-dollar homes and million-dollar bails," as Peszko says. "We got it all."

FIRST PERSON

Nancy Hove, 49
Sheriff, Pierce County, Wisc.

I wanted to be a doctor because I wanted to help people, but couldn't afford the education. When I was 18, I was bartending in Hager City when a detective who'd come into the saloon suggested I go into law enforcement. Since I wanted a job with benefits instead of living paycheck to paycheck, I got my associate degree in criminal justice. I worked as an EMT, a patrol officer, a dispatcher, a jailer, a school liaison officer, and was elected Pierce County sheriff nine years ago. It's old-fashioned up here. People show up at the doorstep of my hobby farm to tell me about an issue.

It's a busy place. On a typical day, an eight-hour shift will answer 80 calls from 911 and stop 15 or 20 cars. Each encounter carries the potential to make national news, although most are more likely to produce insult than injury. That was the case inside a squad car on a Friday afternoon in mid-July, racing with siren and lights on toward a middle-class neighborhood where a knife fight has been reported in the road. The officers arrive to find nothing wrong, only a child and a bearded middle-aged man, who frowns. "We don't pay attention to that," he says. "Happens all the time. O.K.? So long."

The officers do a U-turn and bolt north to a driving range where two golfers, one black and one white, are fighting over, yes, a patch of shade. "White privilege stops here, mister," says the black golfer, who has dialed 911. The white golfer has a bloody nick on his knuckle and a wreath of dried spittle around his mouth. Neither man wants to press charges, and the officers steer back to the 19th's southern section, where patrols spend most of their time, a dreary grid of broken roads, streetcar tracks and the corner takeouts known as Chinese stores. It is a rough neighborhood made just a bit rougher by a rich local tradition of cussing the police.

"F-ck the law," a woman says, glaring into the open window of a cruiser easing past a corner. "That's the public, right there!" chirps officer Damon Linder, smiling behind the wheel. The cops are so accustomed to the guff that when some 19th District veterans visit neighborhoods like South Philly, where people wave at cops, they feel disoriented. A truly exceptional event like the deadly May 12 Amtrak derailment on the city's northeast side, which brought residents and first responders together in an almost transcendent

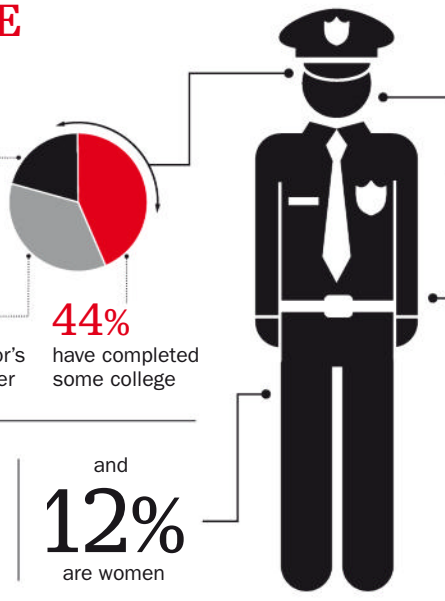
Philadelphia police officers Watson, right, and O'Brien release a man after searching his car following a traffic stop on July 29

THIS IS THE POLICE

There are 680,000 police officers in the United States

1 cop for every 469 citizens

Who they are



21% have a high school diploma or less

36% have a bachelor's degree or higher

44% have completed some college

Their median age is 40

and 12% are women

2% are Asian

13% are Hispanic

16% are black

80% are white

Cops make a mean yearly wage of $59,560

a low of $32,740 in Mississippi

a high of $88,530 in New Jersey

Officers killed this year 72

People killed by officers this year

sense of community, has as the weeks passed assumed the quality of a dream: Did that really happen?

"I grew up in North Philly. Even up there they wouldn't yell at you when you drive by," says Ron Burgess, Linder's partner for the night. "It's been going on a long time, but it's definitely getting worse."

A moment later, an "officer needs assistance" call crackles on the radio, and Linder floors the cruiser, a Chevy Tahoe, and hits the siren. At each intersection he eases off until Burgess says, "Good, right," indicating clear passage from his side. Year after year, roughly as many U.S. cops die in traffic accidents—49 last year—as in shootings (50), a toll that would likely be reduced by the use of seat belts, which police famously do not use. Officers say that's because a seat belt can snag on their thick police belts, and though it might require only a second to take off, what quickly becomes clear as the cruiser pulls up to the scene is how much a second can matter.

We arrive to see a pair of stockinged feet being pushed into the backseat of another Tahoe, the socks dangling from toes an officer is quickly feeling between. A few moments earlier, the suspect had been behind the wheel of a silver Pontiac now askew in the road. Tucked between the driver's seat and center console is a .45-caliber pistol, grip and trigger fully accessible for a quick draw. The car was registered to a different man wanted in a shooting, and when the trailing squad car hit his lights, the driver chose to leave the gun behind. The officer tackled him as he climbed out of the car.

It is difficult to exaggerate the prevalence of guns in the Philadelphia streets and the level of hazard that embeds in a cop's workday. Bullets fly so often in the district that at the scene of a shooting on North Allison Street—a young man shot in the hip and cursing the police who had rushed to help save him—I noticed a glint of something on the street outside the house where it had happened. It turned out to be a slug, the lead crumpled from impact. "I think that's an old one," said Jones, who had already spotted the bullet. "Looks like it's been there a while."

There's so much lead in the air, Burgess a few months earlier witnessed a murder without realizing it: three muzzle flashes, one of which killed a man on Master Street. His own brush with death also caught him by surprise. In March 2013, while wrestling a suspected robber to the ground, Burgess learned the man was carrying a pistol only when it was fired four times beside his face, blowing out his eardrum. He rolled away, drew his own weapon and fatally shot the man who had been shouting, "I'm gonna die! We're gonna die!" Burgess says the man turned out to be "wet," meaning he was on the animal tranquilizer PCP, still common in these parts.

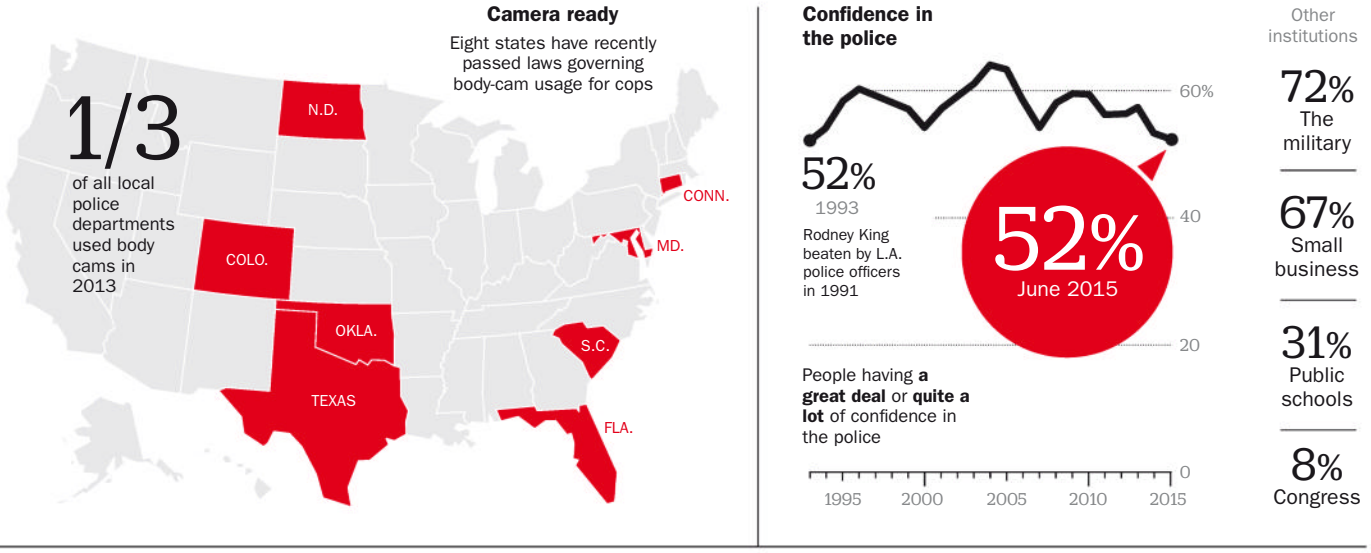
"Once you do something like that, you feel like you've done something wrong, even though you didn't," Burgess says. "I had to reflect on that for a time. It's not routine at all."

Not at the human level, perhaps, but Philadelphia cops shot and killed 15 people in 2012—a particularly striking number since violent crime was in sharp decline citywide, as the news site Philly.com pointed out. Ramsey asked the Justice Department to investigate. That decision helped put Philadelphia ahead of the curve on the national debate over police abuse, a new experience for a department still defined in much of the public memory by the 1985 police firebombing of the militant group Move, which killed 11 people and destroyed 65 homes. Ramsey

FIRST PERSON

Bryan Shelton, 31
Sergeant, Birmingham, Ala.

Growing up, my home was burglarized, someone stole my car radio, and at college in Troy, when I was walking to church, a guy pulled out a fingernail file and said, "Since you're carrying your Bible and you're supposed to be a Christian, how about you give me some money?" Why do these things happen? Is there a way to stop this stuff? The majority of crimes committed are poor people stealing or committing crimes against other poor people. I wanted to break that cycle.



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NOTE: DEATHS DATA THROUGH AUG. 12. SOURCES: ACLU; BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS; GALLUP; OFFICER DOWN MEMORIAL PAGE; THE WASHINGTON POST

has embraced many of the Justice Department's recommendations, and last year the number of people killed by Philadelphia police dropped to four. He is banking on education to reduce it further. Beginning this fall, new cops will be trained to identify their own biases and spend a week at the city's National Constitution Center learning about the history of policing in America. It has plenty of dark chapters.

"If you were in the South, you might have been tracking down slaves," Ramsey says. "Who enforced Jim Crow laws? Police. So just as our democracy has evolved, so have we. But what about those people who were on the other side of that? That baggage is still there. It ain't gone away. So why is there more tension in one community vs. another community? A lot of it has to do with the history of policing. Now I'm not saying you spend your life looking in the rearview mirror, but I am saying you can't move forward until you understand where you've been."

Police see the viral videos just like everyone else but sometimes watch them differently. Some, like the shootings in North Charleston and Cincinnati, are not open to interpretation. But others show behavior that may look bad to the layperson but that police recognize as ambiguous. Watching the dash-cam footage of the Sandra Bland arrest, Sergeant Mariana Caprara wanted more information before condemning the Texas state trooper who appears to be escalating the situation out of spite. "We can't see inside the car," she said. "She could be reaching into her purse."

But for cops, the main beef with the videos that make the rounds on social media, collecting outrage, is that they begin long after the police have arrived at the scene. Viewers see the tussle around the arrest but almost never what the cops see: the behavior that summoned them to the scene in the first place and what transpired in the minutes before the crowds gathered and the cell phones came out.

A few years ago—until Ramsey ordered them to stop, on First Amendment grounds—that feeling of injustice had Philly cops confiscating phones. Now it sharpens the appetite among police for cameras of their own, the "body cams" that departments around the country are using or considering. "When we get a body cam, everything will be changed up," says Jones. "When we do a traffic stop, we have to inform the driver immediately that the camera is on. That's why I'm all for it." So is Ramsey, though he warns against rushing. Serving as co-chair of President Obama's task force on policing gave him a clear view of the trap doors of privacy, expense, technology and, not least, storage that come along with cameras, all of which are better sorted through by departments now rather than in court challenges later. It also left him almost strikingly optimistic about where all this is headed.

"Oh, it's gonna be good," Ramsey says. "Listen, it's a crisis. But as they say, never waste a good crisis. Because it's in crisis that you can implement the kind of change that you need. You wish you didn't have to go through it, but we'll come out better tuned to the community as a result."

IT'S ALL PART of the imperative—transparency, show your work—that the Internet has enforced in so many other realms and which comes now to law enforcement. "A lot of times the cameras on us are not a bad thing," says Brian Dillard, who grew up in the 19th and remembers that cops used to follow up a warning with a beating. "A lot of cops had to know it is not the old days," says his partner, Robert Saccone. "Time was,

FIRST PERSON

Juan "Paco" Balderrama, 38
Captain, Oklahoma City

My twin brother and I grew up in a single-parent home in an El Paso, Texas, project. When we were about 7, Mom signed us up for an assistance program where, around Christmas, the police took us downtown and bought us shiny white sneakers. It was a big deal for us. When we moved to Oklahoma City, the campus police officer at our high school made us security personnel at events. We never had a father figure, so for this older man to tell people we were his boys, it inspired me and made me feel like we had a chance to succeed.

Sergeant Rodney Linder, in white shirt, speaks to officers at headquarters before they head out on evening patrol

if you ran, you paid the running fee," meaning the punches dispensed to a fleeing suspect once caught.

"It's right that we're held to a higher standard," says Bologna. "We have tremendous power." Like Ramsey, Bologna extols community policing, getting cops out of cars and back into the social mix. That prevention-based approach is difficult to pull off when modern policing is based on responding after a crime has been committed. Still, Bologna reaches out to citizens like a ward politician and urges his officers to explain themselves at every opportunity. "It's amazing how many times people will say, 'Oh, I didn't know that,'" says Jade Howard, an eight-year veteran.

But if it's possible to change the way officers approach the job, there is no changing some aspects of it. "I'm not sure that *my* family wants to see the ins and outs of policing," says Linder. "I mean, the people in this district might, but if someone doesn't want to be arrested and you have to arrest them, it's not going to be pretty."

The uglier, more stubborn reality on the streets of the 19th and of every other inner-city neighborhood. While Bologna's troops were patrolling in mid-July, a parade of U.S. politicians was across town at the national NAACP convention, where Topic A was law enforcement. Bill Clinton apologized for sentencing laws that produced the mass incarceration of African-American youths that even some conservatives want to end. The next morning, Obama became the first U.S. President to visit a federal prison, as Pope Francis will do in Philadelphia in September.

FIRST PERSON

Bill Wolf, 57
Police officer, Prescott, Ariz.

I have a Ph.D. in Russian history from Ohio State. I taught history at a community college, but as an adjunct working 50 to 60 hours, my highest yearly income was $11,500. I opened my own landscaping business for two years to make more money, and driving between jobs, I heard on the radio that Prescott was looking for police officers. I was 48 and thought, "I bet that pays more, and it's respectable." Starting off with a low $40,000 salary was a big step up.

But is the fundamental problem law enforcement or those darker stretches of American history that Ramsey will send new recruits to ponder? The implications of the Black Lives Matter movement reach beyond how police conduct themselves to the question of what we ask police to actually do. Cops say at least 80% to 90% of inner-city crime stems from drugs, and though police know the damage of narcotics better than most—Bologna's brother died of a heroin overdose—what drugs offer is escape from reality and access to a rewarding underground economy. Is it a coincidence they dominate neighborhoods circumscribed as off limits to the American Dream? The FHA for decades forbade mortgage loans to the black neighborhoods that today could pass for what soldiers call a kill box. A more profound reckoning lies ahead, if Americans have the stomach to face it.

"Basically, we're the wall between the haves and the have-nots, to make sure those over here don't get over there," says Linder, nodding. "And yet," he adds, taking things back to the here and now where police are most comfortable, "in these neighborhoods, there are the 20% who are jerk-offs, and the 80% who are hardworking people. We're the wall for those too."

For their trouble, police officers in America earn $59,000 a year on average, and in major cities like Philly, a veteran on a special squad can earn far

Officer Jonathan Dedos talks to young men outside a city park on his foot beat, a rite of passage for rookies

more. Police work remains one of the few avenues to a middle-class wage without a university degree. Yet to face what they do every day, most cops need an operating philosophy, beyond the passion for locking up bad guys that drives many rookies and usually fades into something more nuanced over time. In interviews, most spoke of service. "You don't have to like me," Dillard said. "But I'm still here to help you." The sense of calling seems even more essential for black officers, who make up for a slight majority of the squad, not that there was any apparent racial tension in the ranks. Nothing bonds human beings to one another like shared risk.

"*All* lives matter," says Williams. "I've been an African-American male longer than I've been a police officer. [But] if I'm working with a partner, *his* life matters. I want him to go home to his family too."

AT MIDAFTERNOON ON a Friday in late July, the 19th station house emptied at the report of a major road accident, a hit-and-run at a red light that had flipped a Chevy Blazer. The first there was Robert McDonnell, a desk officer who happened upon the crash on his way home. Still in his uniform, he pulled himself across the bloodied asphalt into the wreckage and comforted the woman hanging upside down inside. The fire department arrived—"everyone loves firemen," as Bologna says—and within minutes the intersection was crowded with a blend of uniforms and neighbors. Many held their phones in front of them, recording.

A woman named Vanessa Brown walks up and down the line of bystanders, urging them to click off. "They're not doing anything wrong," she says. She introduces herself as a state representative and flips her phone to her Facebook page, where she posts videos purporting police abuse. But that's not what's going on here, she emphasizes. "They were on the scene immediately," she says. "When they say Philadelphia's Finest, this is Philadelphia's Finest."

The crowd is silent to the point of reverence as the driver is pulled out, and after an ambulance carries her away, people linger. A man points to a security camera on a nearby store, which may have caught the miscreant. Another man approaches McDonnell. "You the officer who was in there?" he asks, extending his hand. "Thank you, sir." McDonnell nods. "Anytime," he says.

It isn't the Amtrak crash or even South Philly. But at least for a moment, it's clear who the bad guy is—the driver of a battered gray minivan, captured as hoped on the store videotape—and something feels different at 52nd and Master Street. "Can I go to my car?" asks a woman in a hat, stuck on the wrong side of the yellow tape. "My car is way over there." A lieutenant named O'Brien takes her arm. "I'll walk you," he says.

FIRST PERSON

Chris Goble, 33
Patrol officer, Arvada, Colo.

I was an Army sergeant in combat in Afghanistan. When I came back, I was edgy, nervous, always waiting for something bad to happen. I had great counseling sessions and tried to figure out how to turn my anxiousness from a liability into a tool. That's why I thought about being a cop. There's a certain alertness trained into us that most people don't have. The police academy felt like basic training all over again. It felt like home. Yeah, this fits.

First Person biographies reported by Olivia B. Waxman from New York

THE AGENCY THAT'S GOT YOUR BACK

A LITTLE-KNOWN GOVERNMENT WATCHDOG IS STRIKING FEAR INTO THE LENDING INDUSTRY

BY MASSIMO CALABRESI

Michigander Deborah Jacobs was skeptical of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau until it helped her keep her house

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAUL D'AMATO FOR TIME

THE FIRST TIME DEBORAH JACOBS heard about the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, it struck her as a terrible idea. It was 2010, and Jacobs, a 65-year-old retired teacher, was one year into the mortgage on her new house in Brooklyn, Mich. Watching the news one evening, she saw a Harvard academic named Elizabeth Warren talking about the need for a new federal agency to protect consumers from deceptive and predatory lending. Jacobs, who describes herself as "definitely a Republican," remembers thinking, Well, that's a waste of taxpayer dollars.

Four years later, Jacobs was in a bind. Her daughter and grandkids had moved into her home, and the costs of supporting the expanded household caused her to fall behind on the mortgage payments. With interest rates low, Jacobs calculated that she could modify her mortgage and keep her home. Her Michigan-based bank, Flagstar, approved the modification, but when the documents for the deal arrived in the mail, they included a surprise: a "closing fee" of $11,599.32. The more Jacobs tried to find out what the fee was for, the less clarity she got from Flagstar. At her wit's end, Jacobs sent out a barrage of complaints—to the Michigan attorney general, to Flagstar's federal regulators at the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency in Washington and, finally, to the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB). "I'm at a loss and do not know what else to do," Jacobs wrote them. "If I had $11,599.32 in the bank, I wouldn't be behind on my mortgage."

As it happened, Jacobs had stumbled on the most powerful new tool in government: the CFPB's consumer-complaint service. Imagine a site like Yelp, if Yelp could respond to negative reviews with federal investigations and hundreds of millions of dollars in fines and could fund itself from the bottomless coffers of the Federal Reserve. The day after Jacobs filed her complaint on the CFPB's website, the agency emailed her to say it was looking into her case. Four days after that, she received an overnight FedEx package from Flagstar with a new set of papers for her modification—minus the $11,599.32 fee.

The consumer-complaint service is an ideal place to start understanding how in four short years the CFPB has become one of the most effective and feared regulators in Washington. Since opening its doors in July 2011, the bureau has received more than 650,000 complaints about lenders. And the pace is accelerating: it now receives as many as 27,000 complaints a month. What's more, the CFPB publishes the details of the complaints on its website, complete with banks' names and whether they responded promptly; the bureau is literally shaming banks into compliance. Just as important, the CFPB has used the data it has collected to launch investigations, guide its oversight of banks and publicly chart lending trends that it deems unfriendly to consumers. Lawyers and consultants for the banks now advise their clients that the once quaint phenomenon of customer indignation suddenly poses a threat to their business. "The financial institutions understand there's somebody looking over their shoulder now. There's a cop on the beat," says Sheila Bair, former chair of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

And banks are just the beginning for the CFPB. Less than a decade after Warren first proposed the agency, it is clear why opponents tried so hard to prevent it from becoming reality. Just as lending has expanded into every corner of the economy, with credit available for anything from fishing boats to orthodonture, the CFPB has pushed the limits of the broad powers Congress gave it under the 2010 Dodd-Frank financial-reform package, finding targets anywhere anyone is charging interest. In the past year alone, CFPB has taken on furniture retailers, cellular-network companies and auto-loan providers. To date, it has issued hundreds of millions of dollars in penalties and generated more than $11 billion in relief for 25 million consumers.

That's the sort of record that attracts allies—and enemies. The rise of a credible cop in the marketplace—something Washington has never been very good at creating in the name of consumer protection—has neither surprised nor pleased the banks it now oversees. Financial institutions big and small use rhetoric to describe the agency that is drawn from the bad old days of secret files and illegal wiretaps. "CFPB is the most powerful agency we have seen in Washington since J. Edgar Hoover ran the FBI," says Richard Hunt of the Consumer Bankers Association, an industry lobbying group.

To its backers, the CFPB is a dream come true: an agency with the independence and authority to crack down on the financial exploitation of consumers wherever it takes place. The agency's clout, says its plainspoken director, Richard Cordray, "gives us the ability to shape an industry toward being consumer-friendly. If that sounds like that's a major change in the markets, so be it."

THE CFPB IS TRULY the agency that almost never happened. The idea began with an article Warren wrote in the journal *Democracy* in 2007 on the eve of the financial crisis. "It is impossible to buy a toaster that has a 1-in-5 chance of bursting into flames and burning down your house," Warren began the piece. "But it is possible to refinance an existing home with a mortgage that has the same 1-in-5 chance of putting the family out on the street."

The problem, Warren wrote, was that the job of protecting ordinary Americans from unscrupulous lenders was spread over dozens of federal and state regulators. Some covered global behemoths like Citibank and Bank of America, others oversaw local savings and loan outfits, and still other agencies covered state-chartered banks. Nonbank lenders, meanwhile, were regulated by yet another agency. The job of policing student loans, which had grown to a nearly $1 trillion market, fell to the federal Department of Education. Payday lending, check cashing and overdraft protection, not to mention lending by auto dealers and orthodontists, were handled by still other authorities. The result of this regulatory maze was low-priority government attention to a high-priority issue for ordinary Americans.

Warren's article resonated with Democratic policy wonks, and on April 14,

BILL CLARK—CQ ROLL CALL/GETTY IMAGES

MAKING ITS MARK

In just four years, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau has put the lending industry on the defensive

$11 BILLION
Approximate amount of relief to consumers from the CFPB's enforcement, including restitution and canceled debts

25 MILLION
Number of consumers who have been helped by the agency's regulatory actions

$13 TRILLION
Estimated size of the U.S. lending industry, which the CFPB oversees

2009, Michael Barr, then the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Financial Institutions, pitched the idea of a single agency to oversee all consumer lending to Barack Obama and his top political and economic advisers in the Roosevelt Room of the West Wing. But Barr, a Rhodes scholar who had served in the Treasury Department under Bill Clinton, went well beyond what Warren had envisioned. Where Warren had suggested an oversight body akin to the Consumer Product Safety Commission, which protects Americans from dangerous products but has limited authority, Barr wanted an agency with real clout. That meant an independent budget and broad rulemaking and enforcement powers.

Barr proposed creating the new agency as part of what became the broader Dodd-Frank financial-reform package, and he warned the President that opposition from the financial sector would be enormous. But Obama signed off and gave Barr the task of writing the section of the reform law that would create it. Barr gave the agency uncommon power: he allowed the CFPB to fund its operations by drawing up to the equivalent of 12% of the Fed's operating budget every year without anyone's approval—in 2015 that amounts to nearly $600 million. He gave it legally binding powers to issue subpoenas and extract cash penalties from bad lenders at will. He transferred all or part of the rulemaking authority in 19 different existing laws to the bureau. And rather than creating a board of commissioners like those that run many federal regulators, he ultimately gave all that power to one director.

CFPB director Richard Cordray aims to make the lending industry consumer-friendly

The outcry from the financial sector was loud and sustained. "It's going to be a huge fight," declared Edward Yingling, then president of the American Bankers Association, when Barr's plan was made public in June 2009. "This agency would have broad powers that go beyond every consumer law that has ever been enacted." When the Dodd-Frank reform bill containing Barr's plan moved through the House of Representatives, the nascent CFPB barely survived an attempt to turn it into a weak commission of existing regulators.

The battle was even harder in the Senate, where Democratic Banking Committee chairman Christopher Dodd needed to sway several Republicans to get enough votes to move the larger bill. Among the deals Dodd made to get the law passed was a concession to Senator Susan Collins of Maine, who wanted to ensure that the fluctuating income of seasonal workers like lobstermen wouldn't preclude them from getting loans. With Collins on board, the Dodd-Frank bill cleared the Senate on July 15, 2010. Were it not for Collins, the CFPB might not even exist.

The Republicans and their backers in the financial sector hadn't given up on fighting the agency, though. The following May, 10 weeks before the CFPB's full powers were set to kick in, 44 Senate Republicans signed a letter to Obama saying they'd block any permanent nominee to run the agency without major structural changes. They insisted on direct congressional control over the agency's budget, a lower bar for vetoes and the replacement of the sole director with a board. Obama rejected the changes out of hand, but he also proffered a peace offering of sorts. The previous fall he had appointed Warren as temporary head of the agency, but he passed her over for the permanent job. Instead, Obama tapped the lower-profile Cordray to run the agency. (Even that wasn't enough to appease Republicans, who blocked Cordray's nomination. Unwilling to meet their demands, Obama used a recess appointment to install Cordray while Congress was on its holiday break in January 2012.)

CORDRAY, 56, was a canny choice. Though he comes off as an understated Midwesterner, he's no less of a crusader

TROUBLE WITH YOUR LENDER? HOW THE CFPB GOES TO BAT FOR CONSUMERS

Since July 2011, over 650,000 people have filed complaints to the new database

SOURCE: CFPB; TIME REPORTING

1.
REPORT A PROBLEM
Consumers can submit complaints through the CFPB's website and by phone, mail, email or fax.

Help is available in 180 languages

than Warren. Raised in Grove City, Ohio, where he and his wife still live when he's not in Washington, Cordray graduated from the University of Chicago Law School and then clerked for conservative flag-bearer Robert Bork and Supreme Court Justices Byron White and Anthony Kennedy. After serving in the Ohio legislature and working in private practice, he was elected Ohio attorney general in 2008. He views the CFPB's mission from the perspective of his Middle American roots. "My dad was born in 1918 to a fairly poor family in eastern Ohio," Cordray says, and growing up during the Depression, he "didn't like to owe people money." When Cordray's father started his own family in the '50s, credit was limited. He had a small mortgage that he quickly paid off and a few low-limit, store-specific credit cards. "They didn't have a lot of extra opportunity there," Cordray says of people like his parents. "But they couldn't get into much trouble."

In taking over the CFPB, Cordray was dealing with a very different landscape. Since the rise of easy credit in the 1980s, lending has worked its way into virtually every corner of society. For many with limited savings but a steady income, this has made it possible to get a home or a car or an education that would otherwise be out of reach. But as lenders expanded credit, they also made it more complicated. The increased opportunity credit offered came with heightened risks and less transparency that made those risks harder to understand. Credit-card billing terms that used to be explained in a page in the 1970s ballooned to dozens of pages by the early 2000s. Lenders issued some $90 billion in student loans in 1991. Today it's a $1.3 trillion industry, fueled in part by for-profit institutions. Outstanding home-mortgage debt meanwhile grew from $903 billion in 1980 to $11.3 trillion in 2008.

Cordray wasted little time marshaling his forces. On July 21, 2011, the agency launched its consumer-complaint service and began collecting online, phone and written reports of bad behavior by lenders. By January 2012, Cordray had hired 100 enforcement attorneys. By the end of that February, the bureau had launched investigations of mortgage lenders and credit-card issuers. Just as important, it was looking into more commonplace consumer gripes including charges for overdrafts and minimum-balance violations that few borrowers understand and that can be challenging to reverse.

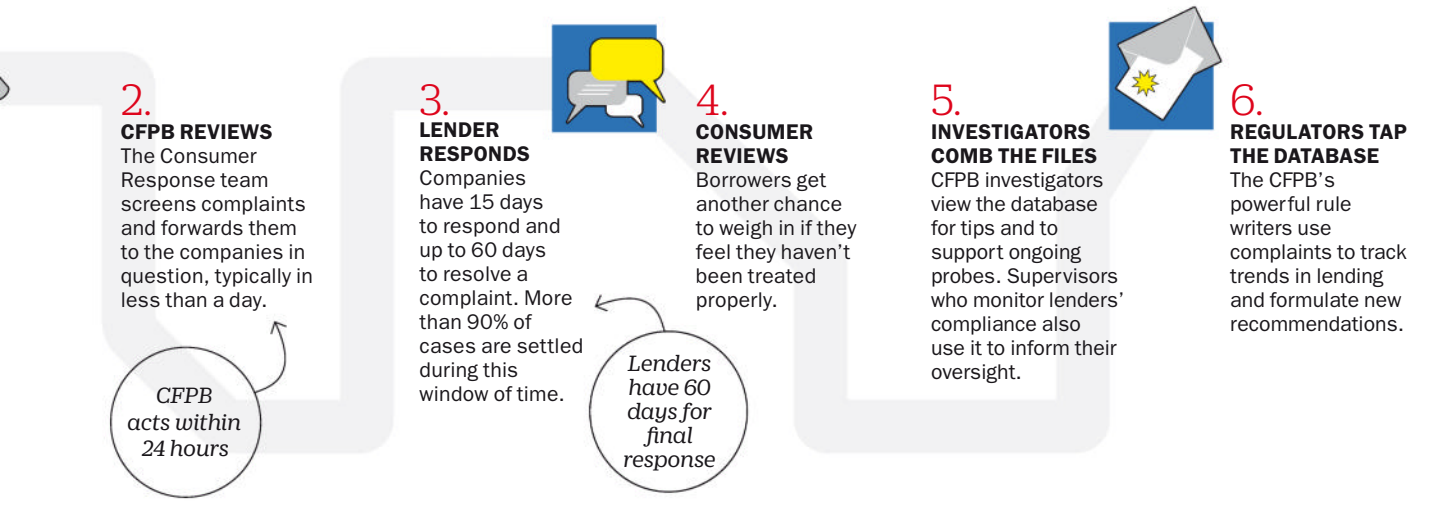
The CFPB focused its early rulemaking on the U.S. mortgage industry, by far the largest area of consumer lending. In the summer of 2012, it introduced simpler mortgage documents and proposed a rule requiring lenders to tell borrowers within three days of applying for a loan how much total interest they would pay and how that could change if rates went up or down. In April 2013, it proposed rules giving borrowers more protection from companies servicing their mortgages.

Most of all, the CFPB flexed its broad enforcement powers. By the end of 2012, it had ordered Discover, Capital One and American Express to pay a total of $537 million in refunds and penalties for deceptive credit-card marketing. It fined U.S. Bank $48 million for charging 420,000 borrowers for identity-protection services they never received. And it busted nationwide mortgage-modification scams run by fake lawyers who allegedly tricked thousands of troubled homeowners into paying large upfront fees for promised lower rates they never delivered.

The crackdown won over the public and disarmed political opponents. On July 16, 2013, Republicans voted to confirm Cordray permanently to his position, effectively ratifying all the actions the CFPB had taken until then and opening the door for more. "It is in some sense literally unbelievable that CFPB is alive and doing well today," says Barr, who now teaches law at the University of Michigan Law School.

IF THE PUBLIC has come to respect the CFPB, the lending industry still can't stand it. Camden Fine, president of the Independent Community Bankers of America, says the agency has stifled lending by setting standards that "prevent the banker from extending credit to worthy consumers." Others worry about the vast power of the agency. Staffers on Capitol Hill have their eye on the CFPB's civil-penalty fund, which is supposed to spend collected penalties that aren't returned to consumers on programs that protect them from predatory lending. As of March 2015, the fund had grown

PAUL D'AMATO FOR TIME



to $207 million. GOP staffers worry that eventually the fund could be misused for political purposes. Cordray defends the fund, saying it has been allocated only to provide $13 million to a program that advises veterans and other vulnerable borrowers, but he admits the political sensitivity of the fund given the authority and independence of the bureau.

Then there's the waste. The bureau paid more than $5.7 million to IDEO, the firm that did the Apple logo, for a "consumer experience strategy" including designing CFPB's hip, all-lowercase logo that features the beam of a flashlight. And in July 2014, the Federal Reserve's Inspector General scolded the agency over the cost of renovations to its headquarters, in a building across 17th Street from the White House compound. The work was initially budgeted at $55 million, but the IG found that the cost could rise to $216 million, thanks in part to a two-story waterfall and a sunken garden. (The cost rose to $99 million in late 2014, but a recent IG follow-up found renovation costs "reasonable" and under control.) CFPB's independence from congressional budget control and oversight, said one House GOP critic, Patrick McHenry of North Carolina, has meant "less concern for fiscal discipline" and "a substantial risk to taxpayers."

None of this has deterred Cordray and his band of lawyers. If anything, they ramped up in their second and third years. In December 2013, the bureau ordered Ocwen, a big mortgage servicer, to pay $2.1 billion for deceiving consumers and engaging in illegal foreclosure practices. In April 2014, it fined Bank of America $727 million for deceptive credit-card marketing, and on July 21, 2015, it ordered Citibank to pay $700 million for the same. And it has broadened its target list to a wide array of lenders in other fields. As part of an aggressive effort to protect young members of the military, the CFPB fined the furniture retailer Freedom Stores $2.5 million for illegal debt-collection practices against service members. In February, it secured $480 million of debt relief for current and former students of Corinthian Colleges, a for-profit educator the bureau had sued for predatory lending. Last May, it forced Sprint and Verizon to refund $120 million to consumers for "cramming" online-data charges onto mobile-phone bills, jacking up their monthly fees with unwanted, unauthorized services.

If the agency is behaving as if it still has something to prove, that's partly because there are plenty of people who would still like to curtail its powers. In March, the House passed a bill along party lines that would replace the sole director with a commission and give Congress direct control over CFPB's funds. That bill is going nowhere in the Senate.

'CFPB IS THE MOST POWERFUL AGENCY WE HAVE SEEN IN WASHINGTON SINCE J. EDGAR HOOVER RAN THE FBI.'

—RICHARD HUNT, *BANKING LOBBYIST*

IN A CAPITAL controlled by monied interests, consumer-protection agencies rarely enjoy long periods of clout. Even when they have the votes and the leadership to flex their muscles, agencies that work for the little guy either overstep their authority or solve the problem they decided to fix. The CFPB may be an exception to the rule. Cordray knows the bureau's future will depend partly on public support. He says the agency has created a "virtuous circle" with its complaint service, and he sees it as a way to both maintain goodwill and sharpen the agency's mission. "We're being driven by what people tell us, in real time, not by some agenda that I might have brought to the bureau," Cordray says.

Which is one reason the agency has taken another step to make bank regulation very personal. In late June, the CFPB started adding first-person testimonials to the online database, which means the human side of troubled interactions between ordinary Americans and their lenders are on view for everyone to see. Deborah Jacobs, who won her war with Flagstar (which declined repeated requests for comment for this story), says the effort to shame banks into compliance is working. She still worries that the CFPB could someday become too powerful, but for now, she says, "they're my saviors."

French police officers escort Eritrean migrants away from the Channel Tunnel entrance on Aug. 3

EUROPE'S NEW BORDER CRISIS

A historic surge in refugees has turned the Channel Tunnel into a battleground

By Naina Bajekal/Calais

IT WAS WELL into the night of July 30 when the mood shifted in Calais. Evening in the French port city had begun with familiar scuffles, pitting groups of illegal migrants against French police officers who blocked their access to the Channel Tunnel and its tantalizing gateway to England. But this was something different. Some 50 migrants—mainly Syrians—simply sat down and turned their backs on the gendarmerie in a peaceful demonstration.

"Let us cross," a voice in the crowd cried. "We are Syrians. We have a war in our country. Why all of this police just for us? We are just trying to cross for a safe place."

PHOTOGRAPH BY ETIENNE LAURENT—EPA

The voice belonged to a 27-year-old Syrian who gave his name only as Adam. He said he had arrived in Calais four months ago, escaping the conflict raging in his hometown of Idlib—making him one of 4 million who have fled from their country's brutal civil war. Adam's pleas went unheard—the police continued to usher the migrants away from the railway complex for the Chunnel's trains—but the sentiment represented the anguish felt by many of the migrants who try to cross into the U.K. every night from France. They have traveled thousands of miles in search of a new home and prosperity, and they are still searching.

THIS HAS BEEN the year of the migrant in Europe. The refugees come from Syria, from across Africa, from Afghanistan and other places. About 137,000 asylum seekers have arrived in the first half of 2015 alone—an 83% increase from the same period last year.

As a crisis, this one has many dimensions. On the surface, it's an immigration problem. The U.K. and other European countries say they need to be able to limit the unprecedented flow of migrants or they risk overwhelming their fragile economies. But an increasingly fractured E.U. has been unable to come up with a concerted response to what is the biggest refugee crisis since the end of World War II, with some 60 million people displaced by conflict and grinding poverty.

That political failure has turned an immigration crisis into a humanitarian one. More than 2,600 people have died this year trying to make the journey to the continent's shores, turning the Mediterranean into the most dangerous border crossing in the world. In April, European leaders agreed to triple funding for coast guards and helicopters in the area, but hundreds continue to die on Europe's doorstep: 200 people drowned on Aug. 5 when a boat stuffed with migrants capsized near the Libyan coast.

Some of those 60 million displaced people have fled their homes out of desperation because of conflicts like the Syrian civil war; others are seeking a better life in richer countries. But while international law protects political refugees—and not economic migrants—sorting them out has caused further political friction in Europe. Under E.U. law, the first country an asylum seeker arrives in is responsible for documenting and processing his or her application. If successful, a refugee has the right only to remain within that country. That means economically struggling border countries like Italy, Greece and Malta have had to deal with a disproportionate number of migrants. So it's not surprising that there are frequent reports of authorities in those countries turning a blind eye to migrants wishing to try their luck farther north. And thanks to European principles of free movement, migrants who break through the E.U.'s external borders can move freely within it once they've landed.

At least until they reach Calais, where about 3,000 migrants are now blocked by Britain's oldest border defense, the English Channel. The strait between England and the European mainland is at its narrowest here, and on a clear day the white cliffs of Dover can be seen just 21 miles away. Migrants have been trying to cross into the U.K. from Calais since the Kosovo war in the late 1990s. If they remain in Calais, they can try to apply for refugee status in France. But most migrants here speak English or have relatives in Britain. Though life as an illegal immigrant in the U.K. is far from easy, jobs are more plentiful—the E.U.-wide unemployment rate is nearly twice that of Britain's.

In the past, migrants often tried to make the passage by stowing away in trucks that crossed the sea by ferry. With increased security around the port, the focus has shifted recently to the undersea Channel Tunnel, where migrants try to hide on freight trains and Eurotunnel shuttles carrying vehicles. Since June, at least nine people have died in attempts to reach England, falling from trains as they tried to hang on, killed by trucks on the motorway and even drowning in a canal at the tunnel entrance. That compares with a total of 15 migrant deaths for all of 2014.

The Jungle, as the dusty migrant encampments on the edge of Calais are known, has become a snapshot of the conflicts raging beyond Europe's borders, sheltering hundreds of Syrians, Sudanese, Eritreans and Afghans. Though the Jungle sprang up without approval, it has evolved into a semipermanent slum that falls far below international humanitarian standards. Guidelines from the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees recommend a maximum of 20 people sharing one toilet, but in the Jungle the number is 300. Piles of garbage attract rats and flies, and the air is thick with the stench of sewage and rotting food. "It is not a good life here," says Nabeel Edris, a 29-year-old Eritrean who has spent six months in Calais trying to reach Britain. "It is not good at all."

As the migrant crisis has worsened, Calais has come to resemble a fortress, with chain-link fences and coils of barbed wire running for miles around the city. In response to the heightened security, migrants are trying more dangerous methods to reach the U.K. On Aug. 4, a Sudanese man was arrested by British police after walking nearly the entire 31-mile length of the Channel Tunnel, dodging high-speed trains in the dark. Eurotunnel, the company that runs the shuttles through the railway terminal, said that since January it had prevented 37,000 attempts, describing "nightly incursions" of hundreds of migrants storming security forces at once in the hope that a lucky few would succeed. On the night of July 28 alone, a few hundred migrants made over 2,000 attempts to breach the entrance of the Channel Tunnel. One young Sudanese man died, most likely crushed by a truck.

British tabloids have sounded the alarm over fears of a "migrant invasion," while politicians have called for the army to be sent to Calais to protect Britain's borders. Police measures imposed to manage the disruption led to one of Britain's main highways' being blocked for several days. More than 4,500 vehicles lined up to cross into France, costing the British economy an estimated $390 million a day. Prime Minister David Cameron insisted that Britain would not become a "safe haven" for illegal immigrants, pledging more fencing and sniffer dogs and funding an additional 100 guards at Calais. On Aug. 10, new measures came into effect to reduce the state support that an asylum seeker could claim in Britain to roughly $57.55 a week, considerably less than the $88.67 offered in France.

While political ties across Europe have been strained by the migrant crisis, the gulf between the U.K. and its continental neighbors has particularly widened. Despite the tabloid outrage, Britain actually receives fewer asylum applications per head of population than the E.U. average, and Germany, France, Sweden and Italy

Some 3,000 migrants now live in sprawling makeshift camps on the outskirts of Calais

PASCAL ROSSIGNOL—REUTERS

all receive far more claims than the U.K. "We must push the British government to take its share of responsibility," says Emmanuel Agius, the deputy mayor of Calais. But the groundswell of anti-immigration sentiment in Britain, most evident in the sudden rise of the right-wing U.K. Independence Party, shows how unlikely that will be. Cameron has promised to reduce Britain's net migration to the "tens of thousands" from 298,000 in 2014 and to hold a referendum on Britain's membership in the E.U. by the end of 2017, another sign that the U.K. is distancing itself from what it sees as Europe's problems.

While nearly 1 in 8 U.K. residents is foreign-born, migrants who reach Britain rarely receive a warm welcome. Some disappear and try to work in the shadow economy, but those who wish to seek asylum through the proper channels have to present themselves to the authorities and face arrest on immigration offenses. Those judged to have legitimate claims can receive temporary housing and that $57.55-a-week living allowance while their claims are being processed—which often takes longer than the six-month target period. From March 2014 to March 2015, the Home Office granted protection to 40% of 25,020 asylum seekers. A migrant whose claim is rejected can appeal but will likely be sent to an immigration removal center and deported, or given money to leave voluntarily.

But many of the migrants in Calais have come so far that nothing would turn them back now. "Back home, you could wake up in the morning and go to work and die. You could die every day, any day," says Tahir Dlil, a 26-year-old radiology graduate who fled the turmoil in Sudan a year ago and has been in Calais for more than four months. "Would we have come if there was peace? Why would we want to live like animals in the Jungle? No. We just want to live, to work, that's all."

Some migrants wearily accept that they will be in Calais longer than they would like: BORED OF BORDERS, reads a sign outside one tent. In the Jungle, you can now get a haircut, have your bike fixed, even pray in an improvised mosque or church. Some enterprising residents stock up on goods in supermarkets in town, hawking them for a profit back in the Jungle. There are over a dozen pop-up shops, selling everything from cellphone SIM cards and cigarettes to whiskey, Red Bull and Coca-Cola. At night, people dance to Michael Jackson songs under a disco ball in a makeshift club.

While some of his friends have decided to seek asylum in France, Dlil is confident his yearlong quest will eventually end in England. He spends his nights making the nine-mile walk from the camp to the railway terminal, displaying cuts from barbed wire and bruises from clashes with police. When asked how he usually spends his days in Calais, he breaks into a wide smile. "England," he says with a grin. "I dream about England all day."

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Time Off

'I LIKE WORKING IN EMERGENCY—YOU MEET MEN THERE, ANYWAY.' —PAGE 55

As Alexander Hamilton, Miranda (far right) *updates Revolutionary fervor into the modern vernacular*

JOAN MARCUS

THEATER

In *Hamilton*, a Founding Father raps his way into Broadway history

By Richard Zoglin

THE FIRST THING YOU NEED TO know about *Hamilton,* Lin-Manuel Miranda's new Broadway musical about the Founding Father, is that it's going to be huge. *The Book of Mormon* or *The Lion King* huge: a full-blown, long-running, standing-room-only Broadway smash. Rarely have the stars aligned so perfectly for such an original, genre-busting show. Reviews for its off-Broadway run last winter, at the downtown Public Theater, were ecstatic. Transferring to Broadway, it racked up a record-breaking advance sale of $32 million even before its Aug. 6 opening.

Hamilton appeals to all the right constituencies, offering an irreverent but respectful take on the American Revolution; a hip-hop score supplemented by old-fashioned Broadway pizzazz; a multiethnic cast; and a hero who was born out of wedlock in the West Indies, immigrated to New York (and was, I assume, a good person) and became a star among the aristocrats plotting the birth of a new nation. If you haven't got your tickets by the end of this paragraph, it's probably too late.

The second thing to know about *Hamilton* is that it's real history. Miranda—who wrote the book, lyrics and score and who also stars as Hamilton—based his show on Ron Chernow's 2004 biography, *Alexander Hamilton,* and he jams as much of the 800-page tome as he can into 2 hr. 45 min. of hip-hop storytelling. It's all here: Hamilton's murky parentage on the island of Nevis; his apprenticeship as General George Washington's

aide-de-camp; his marriage to the well-connected Eliza Schuyler; his role in winning support for the new U.S. Constitution; his stint as Washington's first Secretary of the Treasury and success in getting the new nation's financial house in order; the shifting political alliances and intrigues that enlivened the Republic's first years; and finally (inevitably) the fatal duel with Aaron Burr, his one-time friend and political rival.

The triumph of *Hamilton* is that it treats all this seriously, even as it updates Revolutionary-era history to the vernacular of today—without the jokey revisionism that marred another recent musical update of American history, *Bloody Bloody Andrew Jackson*. Instead, Miranda (creator of the Tony-winning musical *In the Heights*) has crafted a full-blooded, evenhanded portrait of the era, reflecting the mix of idealism and self-interest, big ambitions and petty rivalries that animated the founding of a nation. He seems to revel in the complex, even abstruse political battles—like the compromise that Hamilton forged to get Southerners to agree to a measure allowing the federal government to assume all state debts. Nor does he shy from the unsavory side of Hamilton's character, notably his extramarital affair that led to blackmail and the nation's first political sex scandal.

Hamilton has something to please everybody: rap-music fans, history buffs and theater folk. You'll walk out humming the Constitution

As Hamilton, Miranda is dignified and surprisingly restrained—no rock-star preening for this hip-hop master—as he sidles his way into the Revolutionary inner circle with undisguised bravado: "Don't be shocked when your history book mentions me/ I will lay down my life if it sets us free/ Eventually, you'll see my ascendancy." Director Thomas Kail's high-energy production, with its ensemble of punk- and period-clad dancers, keeps even the potentially turgid passages moving along. And though the score is mostly hip-hop, it is relieved by pleasing interludes of R&B; a jazzy, up-tempo showstopper ("The Room Where It Happens"); and a catchy '60s-pop ditty in which King George III taunts his unruly subjects. Jonathan Groff, as the King, has less fun with the small but showy part than Brian d'Arcy James did off-Broadway. But otherwise, the cast is superb, especially Christopher Jackson as an imposing but very human George Washington (the most convincing Father of Our Country I've ever seen onstage) and Leslie Odom Jr. as the brooding Aaron Burr, who serves as the show's narrator and Hamilton's Javert-like nemesis.

Is Hamilton a revolutionary musical? I wouldn't go that far. David Byrne's *Here Lies Love,* about the rise and fall of Imelda Marcos, had a cleaner dramatic arc and more staging originality. The sheer narrative density of *Hamilton* is also something of a handicap; too much of the history is merely told rather than dramatized. (The deadlocked presidential election of 1800 comes to a climax when one character simply announces, "It's a tie!")

And does the show really have to be so patronizing to the Founding Fathers who haven't been lucky enough to get a Broadway musical written about them? Thomas Jefferson (Daveed Diggs) comes across as a scheming dandy—"What'd I Miss?" he sings, returning from Paris after the Revolution. James Madison (Okieriete Onaodowan) is portrayed as some sort of consumptive sphinx. (Yes, Madison had a problem with public speaking, but the man did write the Bill of Rights.) It's a bit of a wrench to see Hamilton—patron saint of the Republican Party, inventor of the nation's banking system—turned into a politically correct 21st century hero. To be sure, he was an abolitionist amid a lot of Virginia slaveholders. But he was also (the musical neglects to mention) the Founding Father who wanted the President of the United States to be elected for life.

But enough quibbles. *Hamilton* is an exciting and venturesome new musical with something to please everybody: rap-music fans, American-history buffs and theater folk looking for signs of new directions for the Broadway musical. You'll walk out humming the Constitution.

MUSIC

Grace Potter puts the pop in pop-rock

GRACE POTTER'S FORMIDABLE pipes helped turn her band the Nocturnals into one of rock's brightest lights. She can belt heartily and coo seductively while displaying enough swagger to land her on the same bill as the Rolling Stones. On her first solo album, *Midnight,* she moves away from the Nocturnals' blues-rock ideal toward a sinewy pop-rock with a swivel in its hip—think Sheena Easton circa the winking "Strut," only with 21st century flourishes, like the occasional storming-army backing chorus.

Potter can still bellow, as evidenced by the whoops that close out the frenzied "Delirious," but her supple voice is well suited to the move toward pop. The icy synths of "Instigators" provide a paranoid counterpoint to her sandpaper growl, while the cheatin'-heart lament "Your Girl" grapples with relationship ethics over a sensuous lite-funk bed. *Midnight*'s shift toward pop is nervy and refreshing, bringing to mind Paramore's frothy, catchy self-titled album and lighter-than-air radio classics like Janet Jackson's "Escapade." But Potter retains enough bite to satisfy even diehard rock purists.

—MAURA JOHNSTON

BOOKS

Indispensable stories from a forgotten voice

AS FEMINISM HAS MOVED TO THE FOREFRONT OF popular culture in recent years, conversations within the movement have become wide-ranging and sometimes self-indulgent: whether women can breast-feed on Instagram, for instance, or wear leggings to work. If she were alive today, writer Lucia Berlin might scoff at such privileged problems. Berlin was underrecognized during her life—she died in 2004 at age 68—but *A Manual for Cleaning Women,* a collection of her work edited by Stephen Emerson and with a foreword by Lydia Davis, should correct that. These 43 stories, mostly published from the 1960s to the '80s, illuminate a gritty world where pink-collar workers seek illegal abortions, endure unwanted caresses from strange men and scavenge for pennies to nurse their addictions. Perhaps that is why not many people paid attention to Berlin.

She was mining her own life. Berlin struggled with alcoholism as she drifted between jobs as a teacher, a hospital clerk and, yes, a cleaning woman in Chile, Mexico, Berkeley, Calif., and elsewhere. Along the way, she married and divorced three men and gave birth to four sons. The same characters—liquor-addled parents, sculptors who abandon their wives, naive nuns—are sketched and resketched throughout *A Manual,* the best versions most infused with Berlin's caustic humor and a sense of self-discovery.

That wit keeps in check the dreariness of the settings and the various afflictions her characters suffer. "I like working in emergency—you meet men there, anyway" is how a nurse at a hospital begins "My Jockey." In "Strays," a film extra plucked from rehab recalls an exchange with Angie Dickinson: She "liked my eye shadow. I told her it was just chalk, the kind you rub on pool cues. 'It's to die for, that blue,' she said to me."

The most touching stories have fun with the foreboding. "Tiger Bites" is a standout: a 19-year-old divorcée is bullied into considering an abortion in Mexico by her gossipy cousin, who uses the border trip as a vacation. In "Good and Bad," an American expat in Chile predicts that her communist teacher's efforts to draw out students' empathy will fail because "girls feel about their fathers at that age like they do about horses. It's a passion." And in "A Manual for Cleaning Women," a maid Windexes her employers' coke mirror and saves their sleeping pills "for a rainy day." (Has Flannery O'Connor crossed your mind yet?)

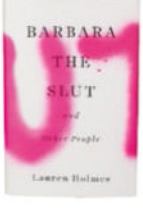
While Berlin's tales are of a particular time—one character tells her 11-year-old cousin that crooked stocking seams have sex appeal—hindsight hones their relevance. In the decade since Berlin's death, the economic chasm between the haves and have-nots has widened, especially among women. Berlin's stories feel like nudges to a feminist movement that in its eagerness to evolve has left some of the less fortunate behind.

—ELIANA DOCKTERMAN

BERLIN: PAUL SUTTMAN—COURTESY LITERARY ESTATE OF LUCIA BERLIN

A LIFE TO REMEMBER
Lucia Berlin's teen years were spent in Chile attending lavish balls. (Her first cigarette was lit by Prince Ali Khan of Pakistan.)

SUMMER SHORTS



BARBARA THE SLUT
By Lauren Holmes
This literary debut collection employs a range of narrators—a lawyer turned sex-toy clerk, a slut-shamed A student (Barbara), even a dog—to comically skewer contemporary culture.

FORTUNE SMILES
By Adam Johnson
These stories by the 2013 Pulitzer winner for *The Orphan Master's Son* find humanity in unlikely places, like a self-loathing pedophile and a programmer who revives a dead President.

THE COMPLETE STORIES
By Clarice Lispector
Thirty-eight years after the Brazilian author's death, Katrina Dodson translates her work, which flips a writer's maxim in making the mundane philosophical.

TIME PICKS

BOOKS
Ally Hughes Has Sex Sometimes (Aug. 25) may sound frothy—a woman's former fling dates her daughter—but Jules Moulin's novel thoughtfully considers how women juggle ambition, sex and motherhood.

TELEVISION
Show Me a Hero, *The Wire* creator David Simon's HBO miniseries (out Aug. 16), stars Oscar Isaac in a true story of racial tensions in Yonkers, N.Y., in the 1980s.

MUSIC
Dirty Projectors musician **Angel Deradoorian** gets experimental in her ethereal solo debut, *The Expanding Flower Planet,* in stores Aug. 21.

MOVIES
Noah Baumbach reunites with *Frances Ha* star Greta Gerwig in ***Mistress America*** (Aug. 14), which traces the friendship of two soon-to-be stepsisters.

Cavill (left) *and Hammer embody the stripped-down '60s chic Ritchie sought in* The Man From U.N.C.L.E.

FILM STUDIES

Guy Ritchie's rules for reimagining spy flicks

EVER SINCE 1998'S *LOCK, STOCK AND TWO SMOKing Barrels,* the GRF (Guy Ritchie Film) has stood for rapid-fire banter, slick suits, a vinyl collector's soundtrack and action sequences that are as winking as they are heart-pounding. Ask the director what defines a GRF and you get a blunt answer: "It's impossible." But *The Man From U.N.C.L.E.* unquestionably is one. Having reinvented the British crime caper, Ritchie now applies his idiosyncratic eye to the spy genre. He told TIME how:

Set your heroes apart. While the *Bond* and *Bourne* franchises celebrate tortured antiheroes, Ritchie focused on the "tone and charm" of CIA agent Napoleon Solo (Henry Cavill), a lovable rogue, and KGB operative Illya Kuryakin (Armie Hammer), a stoic with a heart of gold.

Go glam. In updating the TV drama, Ritchie kept the plot rooted in the "golden age of the spy thriller genre"—the height of the Cold War. He filled the screen with sleek cars and gorgeous backdrops, "getting rid of as much of the chaff of the '60s without losing any of the character."

Have a swinging soundtrack. "The '60s is when music started becoming very exciting," Ritchie says of the sultry Italian numbers and smash hits that amp up the film's energy.

Be cheeky. Ritchie's most distinctive trademark? Wisecracks. *U.N.C.L.E.* is rife with them, some improvised by the actors with the director's encouragement. Solo's boss (Hugh Grant) takes note of a bumbled plan thusly: "For a special agent, you aren't having a very special day, are you?"

—MEGAN GIBSON

QUICK TALK

Ice Cube

The rapper, actor and former N.W.A member produced the hip-hop biopic Straight Outta Compton, *starring his son O'Shea Jackson Jr. as Cube.*

—NOLAN FEENEY

How did you help your son prepare for the role? I really wanted to see if he was serious and focused. Sometimes you ask your kid for something and when it's time to really go and do it, they start to back out. Other than that, I would just tell him my perspective on the situation—how I was feeling about other people. I just wanted him to have enough ammunition.

The film depicts the abuses of power by cops that inspired N.W.A's "F-ck tha Police." What was it like working on this film as the conversation around police violence reignited? I knew that whenever we dropped this movie it would be timely because problems persist, which is really a shame. We haven't held enough officers accountable for misconduct, abuse and—in some cases—flat-out murder.

The movie shows how predatory the music industry can be. Is that still the case? There's a long line of snakes out there. You have black guys taking advantage of black guys, white guys taking advantage of white guys and everything in between. Money really only has the color green.

In its best moments, Compton *contrasts the power of N.W.A's music with police brutality*

MOVIES

Straight Outta Compton is a biopic with sanitized attitude

STRAIGHT OUTTA COMPTON, THE STORY OF THE PIONEERING hip-hop group N.W.A, is stylish. It's got a dope beat. And fans of a certain age will be able to rap right along to it. It also lands at a pivotal moment in American race relations, as the Black Lives Matter movement addresses police violence against unarmed African-American citizens. Nearly three decades after the release of "F-ck tha Police" in 1988, N.W.A's best known anthem remains one of the most inflammatory pieces of pop-culture commentary on the subject—a three-word verbal hand grenade. With that underpinning, *Straight Outta Compton* can't help but engage, despite a relentless impulse to sabotage its own credibility.

The movie begins late in the Reagan Administration with high school rhyme maniac O'Shea Jackson, a.k.a. Ice Cube (played by the rapper's real-life son, O'Shea Jackson Jr.), taking his notebook of poetry to broke-but-brilliant club-music maker Andre "Dr. Dre" Young (Corey Hawkins), who is stuck performing in a played-out regional act. This is crack-era Los Angeles, LAPD and its infamous "battering ram"—local police were as much the enemy as rival gangs.

The aspirations of Dre and Cube take flight upon persuading business-minded street hustler Eric "Eazy-E" Wright (Jason Mitchell) to help fund a raw brand of vinyl-set storytelling. The seminal gangsta-rap track "Boyz-n-the-Hood" is written by Cube, produced by Dre, performed by an amateurish and frightened Eazy-E and destined to sell as well as the sex and drugs depicted in its rhymes.

While N.W.A finds cash, infamy and girls thrown at it, *Straight Outta Compton* moves with the urgency of the group's greatest hits. Director F. Gary Gray *(Friday, The Italian Job)* is as masterful in orchestrating the group's performance scenes as he is conducting tense LAPD abuse sequences. The group's popularity explodes, drawing attention from the FBI for its no-holds-barred law-enforcement critique, and as fast as the quintet hits it begins to splinter.

At 2 hr. 30 min., *Straight Outta Compton* gives ample time to an incredible Ice Cube rock-star tantrum, as well as Tupac and Snoop Dogg soundalikes for cheap third-act thrills. Yet Dre's 1991 assault on female journalist Dee Barnes—dismissed by Eazy-E because the "bitch had it comin'"—doesn't make the final cut. Screenwriters Jonathan Herman and Andrea Berloff's characterization of the relationship between dodgy Caucasian manager Jerry Heller (Paul Giamatti) and Eazy-E is the most nuanced facet of a script that's undone by melodrama.

Despite *Straight Outta Compton*'s energetic acting and Gray's capture of in-studio Eureka! moments, it never manages to transcend biopic hagiography, with characters whose names appear in the production credits—Dre, Cube and Eazy-E's widow Tomica Woods-Wright—faring best onscreen. Gray appears to know it; he includes an exchange between Cube and Eazy on the value of a classic *Afterschool Special,* of which the film seems a high-end take. N.W.A's gritty, complicated history deserves an equally complex film adaptation, something closer to the "reality rap" its members claimed to create.

—DONNELL ALEXANDER

N.W.A'S TOP 3: THE KEY MEMBERS

DR. DRE
Dre shaped the group's sound but really came into his own in 1992 with solo album *The Chronic,* which introduced **Snoop Dogg** to the world. He also played a role in the careers of **Eminem, 50 Cent** and **Kendrick Lamar**—not to mention co-founding the headphone brand Beats.

ICE CUBE
After N.W.A, Cube became a huge solo star before starting a parallel track as an actor and producer for films such as ***Boyz n the Hood, Friday*** and ***Barbershop*** and the TV series ***Are We There Yet?***

EAZY-E
Eazy used drug-dealing profits to found the rap label **Ruthless Records,** which issued N.W.A's albums. In 1995 he died just one month after being diagnosed with AIDS.

THE MAN FROM U.N.C.L.E.: WARNER BROS.; STRAIGHT OUTTA COMPTON: UNIVERSAL PICTURES; ICE CUBE: DAVID JOHNSON FOR TIME; MISTRESS AMERICA: 20TH CENTURY FOX

Singer **Ryan Adams** is recording covers of every song on Taylor Swift's album *1989*.

Rapper Drake **reunited with his co-stars** from the teen soap *Degrassi* at a Toronto web-series premiere.

Bill Murray will reportedly appear in Paul Feig's upcoming all-female *Ghostbusters* reboot.

A man fishing on a San Diego pier successfully **hooked a drone.**

Stephen Colbert announced that his first *Late Show* guest would be George Clooney, then tweeted, **"Could one of you let him know?"**

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

TIME'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE

Instagram caught flak for temporarily **blocking the popular hashtag #EDM** (electronic dance music) because many people used it to share nude pics. But it's not the app's first bout with censorship:

#curvy
Blocked in July to prevent nudity

#CaitlynJenner
Restricted in July to prevent hate speech

#iPhone
Blocked for being "too generic"

#TheSexPistols
Blocked for containing the word *sex*

Fox's next *24* reboot **will not feature Kiefer Sutherland**'s Jack Bauer.

Despite three spin-off movies and a play in the works, J.K. Rowling says **there won't be a *Harry Potter* TV show.**

Whole Foods was criticized for **selling "asparagus water"**—a.k.a. three stalks in a small bottle of water—for $6. A spokesperson later said it was a mistake.

Rolling Stones guitarist **Keith Richards** dissed the Beatles' beloved 1967 album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band:*

'Some people think it's a genius album, but I think it's a mishmash of rubbish.'

An inmate **escaped from a Norwegian island prison** ... via surfboard.

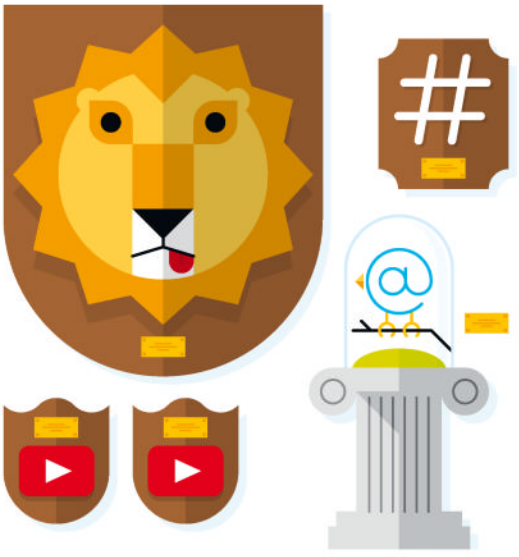
ADAMS: ASPARAGUS: CLOONEY: COLBERT: DEGRASSI: SUTHERLAND: GETTY IMAGES; MURRAY: EVERETT; DRONE: SURFBOARD: ALAMY

By Daniel D'Addario, Eric Dodds, Nolan Feeney and Samantha Grossman

THE AWESOME COLUMN

I'm making the case for public shaming—unless you publicly shame me for doing so

By Joel Stein



I THINK KILLING BELOVED LIONS IS HORRIFYING. THAT'S not because I care about hunting or lions or beloving. It's because I'm afraid of you.

For decades, Americans were free to say whatever we wanted since our society had become too lazy to gather in mobs armed with pitchforks, partly because so few of us have pitchforks anymore. But now, thanks to social media, public shaming is easier and more popular than ever. When an American dentist recently killed an African lion named Cecil that American tourists liked, people rallied against him on Facebook and Twitter. He's closed his practice and gone into hiding after receiving death threats and having LION KILLER graffitied on his vacation house and pigs' feet scattered on his driveway. Animal lovers need to tighten their message a little.

Let me be clear that I think shaming is awful, because I don't want to be shamed by the anti-shamers. It has indeed ruined many people's lives, filling their Google searches with scarlet A's and making it hard for them to date, work or, far sadder, experience the joy of Googling themselves. But all this shaming has also done some good. While the ethical collateral damage is unfortunate, attacks on specific people have quieted anti-vaxxers, California water wasters, parents who spank their kids with a switch and Bill Cosby.

STILL, I WASN'T SURE if public shaming was something I should start doing. For advice, I called Joshua Knobe, a professor of philosophy at Yale who runs experiments to see how people come to their moral judgments. As soon as we started talking, Josh wanted to be very clear that he likes lions. I ran my theory by him: that when society comes to an agreement on a new moral rule—slavery is wrong; gay marriage is good—the fastest means of signaling that is to publicly destroy the life of one randomly selected transgressor. It turns out there are few thrills greater than horrifying a person who professionally explores moral judgments.

Knobe told me that most studies prove the opposite: the best way to get people to change behavior is to communicate that the majority of people like them are engaged in positive behavior. I told him that made sense to me. If you wanted change to happen really slowly and were a total wuss.

Once society makes a new moral decision, we've got to quickly mop up the resisters. Yes, it's Martin Luther King Jr. who gets America to change its mind on racism, but it's Michael Richards who finishes the job. "The rate of change with gay marriage is much swifter than other things, such as interracial marriage. The mechanism that you're suggesting could explain that rate of change," Knobe said. "I so hope you turn out to be wrong." That's because it would be pretty embarrassing for a major ethical philosophical breakthrough to come from a humor columnist.

Before I submit this column to the *Philosophical Review*,[1] I wanted further academic backing. Robert Kurzban, a psychology professor at the University of Pennsylvania, studies morality from an evolutionary perspective. One of the first things he said in response to my theory on Cecil the lion was, "I'm a person who loves the outdoors and want ecologies that are beautiful to be preserved."

Kurzban doesn't think people scold for the rush of superiority. He thinks they do it because taking down others makes space at the top of the social order for them. Which made sense until I wondered who is lower on the social order than dentists.

Still, because this motivation is selfish, not only can the victims of shaming be chosen randomly, but so can the morals themselves, as in the Salem witch trials. "Moral psychology has a very sinister property," Kurzban said. "The dangers of in-group/out-group psychology is that it allows us to gang up on people different than us. Moral psychology allows us to gang up on people who are even like us." Marijuana psychology allows a person to gang up on himself.

Maybe it's best to stop shaming others. Sure, that will slow progress, but it will prevent fascism. Unless a lot of you disagree with me. In which case, I totally think whatever you do.

[1] It requires footnotes.

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

Claire McCaskill As her memoir, *Plenty Ladylike,* hits shelves, Missouri's Democratic Senator discusses Ferguson, Iran and making peace with the Clintons

How has Ferguson, Mo., changed in the year since Michael Brown's death? We have made progress—not enough, but we've made it. We have more African Americans on the city council. We've reformed the municipal court system. We have more job training. But this is an institutional bias nationwide, and it involves criminal-justice reform writ large.

What can Democrats be doing to elevate Black Lives Matter? I'm seeing glimmers of bipartisanship. We just had a hearing, called by a Republican chairman, looking at the federal prison system—95% of the people incarcerated are nonviolent, and we're spending $70 billion a year.

How are you leaning on the Iran deal? What killed me is that the Republicans jumped up and down and said, "We need 60 days to consider this treaty." And it appears most of them made up their mind in 10 minutes that they're against it. I'm trying to analyze the deal versus what will be the new status quo. I have set up conversations with the Russian, British and Chinese ambassadors. Getting all of them on the phone in August is a challenge.

Marco Rubio is one of your cosponsors on the Campus Accountability and Safety Act. Would he make a good President? He's been great to work with, but I disagree with him on so much. I was frankly stunned when he walked away from immigration reform. The right wing started chewing on his heels, and he capitulated. What he did with that issue diminishes his capability in terms of being the President.

In 2006 you said you didn't want your daughter near Bill Clinton, and in 2008 you supported Obama. Have you patched things up with the Clintons? I try to be honest about the mistakes I've made, and that was certainly one. Hillary Clinton is the clear choice for President. I think she knows how sincere I am in wanting to help her get elected. The notion that there's this permanent list of people that the Clintons can't stand is one of many misrepresentations about them.

What did you think of the Planned Parenthood videos? The videos are horrific. I can certainly believe in a woman's legal right to decide what happens to her body. But it's a big mistake to not acknowledge how incredibly inappropriate some of the material is that's contained in these videos, how callous and cold. They're edited. They were obtained by fraud, which is not said often enough. If in fact Planned Parenthood was selling fetal tissue for profit, they should be held accountable. I believe the investigations will find that that is not the case.

A state speaker once asked if you "brought your knee pads" when you wanted to get a bill through. Do you see any of that behavior today on the Hill? I know it's still going on because we just had a scandal involving sexist behavior toward interns in the Missouri legislature. But I have not seen it from a personal perspective since I came to the Senate.

> 'Can women cry and truly be successful and compete? We can.'

You write that workplace frustration has pushed you to tears. Do you still cry? I don't cry as often as I did when I was a young woman. I think women live longer because we cry more. Can women cry and truly be successful and compete? We can. Acknowledging emotion ultimately makes you stronger.

You have been known to shotgun a beer in celebration. If Hillary Clinton wins, will you shotgun a beer? I've done it once at the urging of my kids. But electing the first woman President? Hell, yes, I'm down. Maybe I could talk her into doing one with me, huh?

—CHARLOTTE ALTER

ERIK TANNER FOR TIME

BUNDLE YOUR HOME AND AUTO TOGETHER
AND YOU COULD SAVE A BUNDLE.
I THINK THAT'S A HAIKU.

IF YOU ASK ME, SAVING MONEY
SHOULD BE AS EASY AS BUNDLING.

Insure your home and auto together and you could be saving in no time. You can even get a quote for both at once. Doesn't get much simpler than that! Bundling to help you save more. Now that's Progressive.

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Auto insurance is provided by Progressive Casualty Ins. Co. & affiliates and prices vary based on how you buy. Home insurance is placed through Progressive Specialty Insurance Agency, Inc. with select insurers, which are not affiliated with Progressive, are solely responsible for servicing and claims, and pay the agency commission for policies sold. Prices, coverages, privacy policies, and commission rates vary among these insurers, which include Homesite Group Inc., IDS Property Casualty Co., ASI Lloyds, and their affiliates. Not available in AK.

Nice Threads

See the Great. Feel the Great.

It's the warmth of beautifully stitched genuine leather that fits the hand naturally. It's a 5.5" IPS Quantum QuadHD display and 16 MP camera with an f/1.8 lens underneath it. It's a smartphone that performs as beautifully as it looks. It's the all-new G4 from LG.

LG G4

www.LG.com/G4

Qualcomm snapdragon

LG

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